

**ANSWER**  
**OF A**  
**GERMAN**

*An open letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury*  
*by*

**HANS GRIMM**

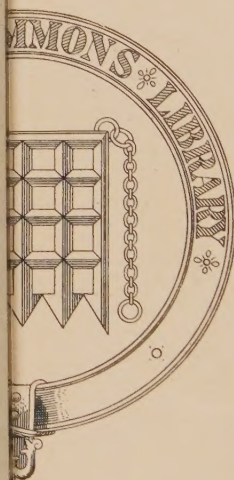
*Answer of a German* is a book written in the form of an open letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury who broadcast a message to the Germans after their defeat. Dr. Grimm answers not only the Archbishop, but also that most important question of the moment—What are responsible Germans thinking?

He is exceptionally well qualified to act as mouthpiece for his countrymen. Poet, philosopher and author of *Volk Ohne Raum*, which is practically the history of Germany in the first 25 years of this century in the form of a novel and which sold 750,000 copies, he has always held himself aloof from politics and never joined any political party. Dr. Grimm is listened to in Germany as the authentic voice of wisdom and experience.

The book was sent to Lambeth Palace, and gratefully acknowledged. But no German firm dared to publish it until 1951, so sure were they that its publication would jeopardize their "licence" from the Allies. That their fears had some justification was shown in October 1951, when a new edition of the book was banned in Austria by the Executive Committee of the Allied Council in Vienna. In Germany it now circulates freely, and had an immediate success.

It is not perhaps too much to suggest that *Answer of a German* is a necessary study to all who would understand the German standpoint, or would appreciate the present condition of "freedom of opinion" in Western Europe.

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JAN 1956

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Vale & Oakley, Belfast Road, London, N.16., England.





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*An Open Letter To  
The Archbishop of Canterbury*

*by*

HANS GRIMM

*Translated by* LYNTON HUDSON



Dublin—1952





**A**T the beginning of December 1945 a licensed newspaper, published in Hanover, gave front page prominence to a report from London dated the 29th November. It carried the headline: **YOU MUST DECIDE!** and the sub-heading:

**THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY SPEAKS TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE.**

It said that the Archbishop had broadcast a message, worded as follows:

" . . . It is difficult to say what ought to be said and to say it in the right manner. All that has happened in the last six years and more in your national history, and its effects on all Europe, cannot be absent from your minds or from mine. What has been done cannot be undone. But its consequences can be controlled. The last act of a play does not alter a single word of the preceding acts; but by its character it may change their significance, showing how the gathering forces of evil are checked and subdued by the final triumph of good. A terrible act in your history has ended. The question for you, and for us, is—what will the next act record? You Germans and we British and many other peoples will write the next act together. What will your contribution be?

You may say that all that is left to you at the present is the power to suffer. I know well the terribly hard conditions that you are suffering; but you are not alone in that. In the evil days your armies brought destruction to your neighbours, and they along with you suffer from the harsh process by which their liberation and yours was achieved. Out of the shattered resources of civilization, every effort is being made to bring to everyone the necessities of life, friend and foe alike. Believe this first of us in this country, that it is our earnest desire that as rapidly as possible the physical sufferings of all shall be relieved. Believe, too, that—as is the declared policy of this country—we desire the time to come when in the comity of nations Germany can again have its place. Our army was called the Army of Liberation. It was our purpose to liberate you, as well as ourselves and our allies, from evil things. I ask again: what will your contribution

be? That will depend above all upon the spirit in which you face the present day and those to come, the faith which you find.

Am I wrong in thinking that at this moment you are in a spiritual vacuum; if so, it is no wonder. For many years, willingly or unwillingly, you have pinned your faith to one man, to one doctrine; and they have led you to the abyss. All your loyalty, all your high dreams, all your endurance have come to nothing. What is left? I think specially of your younger people who have known no world except the world of enthusiasm and loyalty and almost religious fervour which Hitler made for them. Now as men or on the threshold of manhood all has gone, and the world seems empty of desire or hope. That, or something like that, must be true of many of you.

. . . Civilization is still everywhere insecure; and fear, fear of want, fear of one another, fear of atomic energy, besets and bedevils human life still. But just because you are for the time powerless as a nation, because you have to make a fresh start, you can, you must choose your ground of faith."

I read and reread this address with smarting eyes. Most of us Germans were then living in a state of stupor. Silence was imposed upon us more and more as time went on. Nevertheless there still glowed in our hearts a secret hope that the whole truth would one day be made plain and would prevail, that it would be fully understood; and that subsequently a new civilisation would be born, liberated from political propaganda.

My own way of thinking, as always, and in spite of what I and my fellow-Germans had been through as a people and a nation, was coloured by a peculiar attachment to the English way of life.

I did not know at that time who was the incumbent of the high office of Archbishop of Canterbury. I did know that the Archbishop of Canterbury was the greatest religious and moral authority in the British Empire, and was also regarded as such in the Protestant churches of Europe. I knew that his broadcast message would help very much to confirm or to guide their thinking.

As to his attitude and activity during the war years, I learnt from foreign sources among other things that he had publicly declared that Russia was a democratic state and that Christianity was not persecuted in Russia; also that he had voiced his opinion that within five years of the victory of British arms, no peace should be concluded with Germany,

that after all that the German people had done an interim period of expiation was necessary before Germany could once again be recognized as a free nation, and that this expiation must last five years. I am no longer able to name the foreign sources of this information.

I did not dismiss it with a shrug of the shoulders, nor did it stir me to violent indignation. I said to myself: even the Archbishop of Canterbury, superior as he is to the baser motives of common clay, is human, and a typical product of his race. He has in all probability been influenced in his beliefs and opinions by what he daily hears and reads, views which have a veneer of half-truth, and are the result as often as not of wishful or muddled thinking.

Compulsorily silenced as we were, it seemed to me urgent and imperative that some reply should be given to the Archbishop's address of 1945, the year of our defeat, by some independent German who was at once German and European; that this reply should be made audible, that it should reach the ears of those young people of our own race who were not in a political strait-jacket, and who in spite of all the sufferings and the burdens they had to bear were not imbued with the spirit of hatred, vengeance and party, but earnestly desired to arrive at an understanding of causes, and hoped through this knowledge to bring about a better future for Europe and for Germany.

I wrote a reply, and finished it in April 1946. When I laid down my pen I had not yet learnt of what had been going on in Silesia, in Pomerania, in East Prussia and in parts of the Mark Brandenburg in all its shocking detail. Nor had we in Western Germany at that time a proper appreciation of the extent to which the old-Austrian German inhabitants of Northern Bohemia were being expelled from their forefathers' homes, persecuted and robbed of all their possessions. Furthermore, the Nuremberg Trials had not yet begun, nor the system of denazification, nor the political jugglery with the Zones, nor the great hunger, nor the dismantling of our factories.

I would have preferred to publish that part of this book which was finished, as I have said, in April 1946, in English; but that would have needed the help of a highly educated

English translator. It is however extremely difficult—and this should be constantly remembered—to make the same impression on the ear or eye, on the mind and feelings of the reader, by means of a translation; for all the similarity of the two languages, which nevertheless differ astonishingly and decisively in the meaning attached to like-sounding words.

I therefore left my German manuscript in its original form. Shut off from the world as we were, I had considerable difficulty in getting it to the high dignitary to whom it was addressed. With the help of local occupation authorities, however, it eventually reached its destination. It was not until September 1946 that I received a grateful acknowledgement from Lambeth Palace.

I would not have flattered myself that the British Primate would study the work of a German author, written in German, from beginning to end, even if I had not known that in England no one ever pays attention to the utterances of an independent "German" German. This is different with us, where there has always been the keenest interest in any expression of opinion by an "English" Englishman about any development in Germany. I prefaced my manuscript with the request that it should not be skimmed through, or read diagonally; that it should not be read by random paragraphs or at intermittent intervals. I pointed out that it required the attentive concentration of a few hours, inasmuch as it dealt with causes and effects which had hitherto been ignored.

I felt that my work should be judged on its merits and that, for my part, I had complied with the requirements of the old Humanist maxim: *Quid manet infectum nisi tu perfeceris a summo tu tibi crede Deo mandatum*. ("You may be sure that whatever remains undone through your failure to complete the task is enjoined upon you by Almighty God".)

The manuscript was then also read by English acquaintances, who requested permission from Lambeth Palace to borrow it. Suggestions were made for its translation. It was read in and outside my house, and copies of it were made by many troubled Germans.



These Germans were curious about the British reaction to what I had written. They urged me to bring it up to date. They felt its publication was a necessity for England, Germany and Europe. In fact, with our bruised and battered spirit—and very many Germans have been accessories to this “soul murder” if I may borrow an expression from the Lutheran Bible—we shall make no recovery, and we shall be unable to contribute anything of value to the building of a new Europe; and it is necessary to point this out.

After due reflection I was persuaded to complete my “Reply to the Archbishop”, and once again to submit it to the high dignitary, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who represents the greatest religious and moral authority in the British Empire and in the Evangelical Church of Europe, and at the same time to have it published for the sake of all those men and women who may be in need of it.

My book in its completed form has kept its old title. It runs:

Of Causes and Effects  
before Decisions are made.  
Reply of a German  
to  
The Most Rev. His Grace  
The Lord Archbishop  
of Canterbury.

The first part of this book which was written in 1945-6 read as follows:

My Lord Archbishop,

You broadcast a message to us Germans on 29 November, 1945. I did not hear you speak. I only read the report of your address afterwards as it was quoted verbatim in a Hanover newspaper under the headline: *You must decide*. . . Whether anything was missing from or added to the text of your address I do not know.

I should like to answer your appeal. It seems to me needful that an English Englishman who is anxious to help to make things better should listen to an answer from a German German. And how else can the Englishman hear it? At the present time (1945-6) there is in Germany no

statesman of whom it could be said that he expresses the sentiments of millions. Not one of our licensed newspapers in reality even speaks for hundreds of thousands. And which of these papers is at the present time to be taken seriously?

In such a predicament, it appears incumbent upon the writer to take the floor on behalf of his people; to make their inarticulateness articulate, and to make heard an echo that is not artificially created. Now in 1925 I wrote a book *Volk ohne Raum* (People without Room). This book was greatly misunderstood, both at home and abroad; and so widely read in Germany that it was a best-seller for many years. In 1937 I wrote *Englische Rede*, (English Address) a lecture which I delivered in Great Britain. If my story "People without Room" had been correctly understood by my German readers, and if its moral had been heeded and believed without prejudice abroad, then National Socialism would never have evolved into Hitlerism, and the war would have been averted. My credentials to Your Grace must be the book and the lecture, to which I may add my South African short story about an English judge in the Karoo.

My Lord Archbishop,

You are quite right. We Germans—and that includes all those who speak the German mother tongue—must decide, but it is perhaps more necessary for your people and your government than it is for us to make a decision at this momentous turning-point of history. If the decisions we arrive at, decisions of the heart and of the brain, (for the will functions only behind the brow) are different and so at cross purposes, then what both you and I call Europe and civilization and humanity will be irretrievably doomed, and I do not believe that either the United States of America, or the British Dominions and Colonies alone, could replace Europe and humanism, with all that the term implies, and save mankind from a further catastrophic deterioration into mass-mindedness and materialism.

My Lord Archbishop,

I am struck by the fact that you—and you are not alone in this—speak of recent years, of what we may call the Hitler years, as though this period were a detached historical inter-

lude, and had no causes or precedent for all that happened during it.

During these Hitler years, if I have understood you correctly, we Germans, and particularly we Germans in the Reich, positively yielded to the forces of evil; your British purpose was to liberate us from these evil forces, and there is, you say, an earnest desire for the day when Germany can again be received into the "comity of nations".

When one speaks, as you have spoken, of a terrible act of German history which has now come to an end, then the causes and factors that led up to and produced it cannot be omitted from the exegesis. These must be taken into account.

What were the causes of the German unrest which has become more and more pronounced during the last seventy years and finally, under Hitler, reached its climax? What were the causes of the superstitious British fear of Germany which became increasingly deep-seated with the years? In what way have these causes changed in the intervening period? How far are they still the same to-day?

I submit that anyone attempting to give an answer to these questions must rely on his own personal experience, and not merely on what he has gleaned from books and papers. It is hardly permissible to begin a discussion which it is hoped will discover facts by basing ones arguments on third and fourth hand opinions and prejudices.

My Lord Archbishop,

I was in England in 1895 in the service of an Anglo-German export firm. I am the son of a university professor of law who in his early youth, in 1833, very nearly became a midshipman in the British Navy. The Kurfurst of Hesse had obtained his commission from the court of St. James's when my grandmother intervened. My father, like the whole upper class of the Protestant parts of Germany, never lost his deep admiration and sympathy for England. He wanted his four sons, as also happened in the case of my own two children, to have the benefit of at least a short term of education in Great Britain.

When I came to England I believed that I was coming

to a country of cousins and friends, and the people I met with were very friendly. But as I listened to conversations and discussions, and diligently studied the newspapers, I was astonished, even staggered, to perceive that the British public, the revered England of my father, had meanwhile become outspokenly antagonistic to Germany. This was before Germany had begun the building of her navy, and before the despatch of the Kaiser's telegram to President Kruger. In an endeavour to find an explanation I wrote home in bewilderment to my father. When the English dwelt on the super-abundance of German waiters, and pointed out that London was full of German musicians and barbers and clerks who offered their services for nothing for the sake of learning English, who might, so I was told, very well be German spies and in any case took the bread out of the mouths of Englishmen, I did not find this a sufficient explanation.

On 1 February, 1896, there appeared in the London weekly, *The Saturday Review*, an article entitled: "A Biological View of our Foreign Policy, by a Biologist". The author of this article remained anonymous until the First World War. It then transpired that it had been written by Sir P. Chalmers Mitchell. I reproduce the most important passages:

"As to wars, it is necessary to distinguish. One kind of war, and that the most familiar in the last two centuries when the opening of new continents made room for the expansion of growing nations, was a mere katabolic activity, the byplay of exuberant vitality. Such were the campaigns of Napoleon, or our own Crimean War; these were games, the winning or losing of which affected only the princes and generals. After a brief fever the nations forgot for what they had fought, and almost before the dead had decayed, the natural equilibrium was restored. A second kind of war occurs when an expanding, changing nation presses on its weaker or stationary neighbour. With this and its swift result the English have become familiar in every part of the world. But the last, and what must be a struggle to the death, comes only when two growing nations find no room for expansion save by compression of the one.

The world is rapidly approaching the epoch of these last wars, of wars which cannot end in peace with honour, of wars whose spectre cannot be laid by the pale ghost of arbitration. The facts are patent. Feeble races are being wiped off the earth, and the few great developing species arm themselves against each other. England, as the greatest of these—greatest in geographical distri-



bution, greatest in expansive force, greatest in race-pride—has avoided for centuries the only dangerous kind of war. Now, with the whole earth occupied and the movements of expansion continuing, she will have to fight to the death against successive rivals. With which first? With whom second? With which third?

Of European nations, Germany is most alike to England. In racial character, in religious and scientific thought, in sentiments and aptitudes, the Germans, by their resemblances to the English, are marked out as our natural rivals. In all parts of the earth, in every pursuit, in commerce, in manufacturing, in exploiting other races, the English and the Germans jostle each other. Germany is a growing nation; expanding far beyond her territorial limits, she is bound to secure new foothold or to perish in the attempt. It is true, she has not yet succeeded in making colonies of her own. But that failure is the mere accidental result of her political system. Her own revolution is imminent, and Germany, as a democratic Power, would colonize for herself, with the same aptitude she has shown for infiltrating our own colonies. Were every German to be wiped out to-morrow, there is no English trade, no English pursuit that would not immediately expand. Were every Englishman to be wiped out tomorrow, the Germans would gain in proportion. Here is the first great racial struggle of the future: here are two growing nations pressing against each other, man to man all over the world. One or the other has to go; one or the other will go.

America would be our enemy before Germany, but for the accident that America is not yet a nation expanding beyond her own territory. Each recurring census shows that the time is approaching when America will have to expand or cease. . . . The rumours of war with England must be realized and will be realized when the population of the States has transcended the limits of the States.

The biological view of foreign policy is plain. First, federate our colonies and prevent geographical isolation turning the Anglo-Saxon race against itself. Second, be ready to fight Germany, as *Germania est delenda*; third, be ready to fight America when the time comes. Lastly, engage in no wasteful wars against peoples from whom we have nothing to fear."

Another article had previously appeared in the same paper on 24 August, 1895. This was headed "Our True Foreign Policy" and among other things contained this passage:

"Our chief rival in trade and commerce to-day is not France but Germany. In case of a war with Germany, we should stand to win much and lose nothing; whereas, in case of a war with France, no matter what the issue might be, we are sure to lose heavily."

These articles corroborated the depressing discovery I had made in the first four months of my stay in England, that an anti-German myth had been implanted in the minds of Englishmen, and that it was being deliberately fostered. Other anxious observers besides myself had made the same discovery, as I afterwards learnt; and when on 11 September, 1897, another anonymous author published a third article (also in *The Saturday Review*) which likewise ended with the slogan *Germania est delenda*, that article was partly responsible for the building of the first German navy.

This third provocative article contained the following three paragraphs :

“Three years ago, when the *Saturday Review* began to write against the traditional pro-German policy of England, its point of view made it isolated among leading organs of opinion. When, in February 1896, one of our writers, discussing the European situation, declared Germany the first and immediate enemy of England, the opinion passed as an individual eccentricity. . . .

What Bismarck realized, and what we too may soon come to see, is that not only is there the most real conflict of interests between England and Germany, but that England is the only Great Power who could fight Germany without tremendous risk and without doubt of the issue. . . .

Our work over, we can say to France and Russia: ‘Seek some compensation; take from Germany whatever you like: you can have it’.”

My Lord Archbishop,

At the time I cudgelled my brains, as I still do to-day, to find the causes of such ideas. I was reluctant to impute to the country in which I was a guest the reproach of levity. Nor was I convinced by the theory propounded by ‘continental’ historians that England had, from time immemorial, considered the Balance of Power in Europe to be a vital necessity; and that she had ever been quick to regard any preponderating Power which might arise in Europe as an enemy to be destroyed. For me, this discovery smacked too much of bookish wisdom, and too little of practical everyday experience.

The great majority of people in any nation do not think coherently, and their passions when first revealed are the result of immediate causes and are inflamed by propaganda.

And the most immediate cause which affected the average Briton and his attitude towards Germany was the steadily increasing influx, wherever the Union Jack flew, of those foreigners who garbled the English tongue, dressed cheaply, and prayed and sang songs in a foreign language; and the further fact that these foreigners worked longer hours, and by their industry and need to earn a living disturbed the general rhythm of labour. Moreover, these un-English aliens earned good British money, and instead of spending it took it back home with them as soon as they had saved enough. But this was not the full extent of this irritating mystery. The German foreigners who were accused, with some justification at that time, of flooding the world market with imitations of British goods—"Made in Germany", of under-selling the British and thereby lowering the English standard of life, were suddenly able to offer articles which in sober competition proved themselves to be superior, and were by no means 'cheap and nasty'.

I came to understand that these two facts, at a time when the great markets of the world were being opened up to trade, might very easily inspire the British with a superstitious dislike of the Germans.

As I puzzled over the question I said to myself: this growing aversion of the British to the Germans bears a strong resemblance to the slowly developing aversion felt by the Germans for the Jews, who were infiltrating into Germany in ever-increasing numbers from the East. What was then with us an incipient anti-Semitism among the lower middle classes was with you an anti-Teutonism. From the outset there was, to be sure, a difference: the German wage-earners in the British Empire were careful to avoid making tactless remarks about British national idiosyncracies; and very rarely could any reproach be made against their business conduct.

It is, none the less, a severe trial for a highly developed people to see appearing among them a steadily inflowing tide of foreigners, and to watch these guests exploit the favourable opportunities offered by the country which received them without having any stake in it themselves. In such a case, no one asks whether the trade and commerce of the country may not have benefited by the introduction of these

guests. It is only natural to feel: here are these foreigners who share our prosperity, but if bad times come can pack up and leave us in the lurch; and who, in addition, are reluctant to pool their own spiritual resources with those of their adopted country.

Once I had accepted these facts I used to say to my compatriots: "We are to the British what the Jews have become to us." And I went on to say: "Sooner or later this habit of ours of being lodgers of the British is bound to end in trouble. To use another country as a boarding house from motives of national economic interest is a serious abuse of hospitality".

At this point Your Grace may well ask the time-honoured question: "How came the Germans to be so eager to get out into the world, and so become 'a nuisance' to other nations? Why did they not stay at home where they belonged?"—I have been asked this question often enough. But I have never heard of a similar question being asked of the Belgians, the British, the French, the Russians, the Dutch, the Portuguese, the Spaniards or, more recently, of the North Americans, all of whom did not find sufficient living space in their so-called home land.

What happened in the case of us Germans was this: after 1871 we were the most populous nation of Europe; more so even than the Russians, excluding their subject states. The most densely populated country in Europe, in comparison with the other great nations, had the fewest natural resources, and was more hemmed in than any other without any national outlet.

This fact was patent to all the world at the beginning of the eighteen eighties. Our emigration figures, without counting those who only went abroad for a period of years, rose to hundreds of thousands.

Our emigration statistics declined, without any change in the political system, as soon as world trade made it possible to import raw materials and food stuffs for the population of our country with its insufficient natural resources, and when with the help of these raw materials the insufficiently employed within Germany could be given a livelihood. The lack of living space of our country seemed also to have



suddenly disappeared, or at any rate to have ceased to matter, as long as its inhabitants were able by the work which had been made possible to them to produce an ever increasing quantity of goods to exchange for raw materials and food-stuffs. When Germany was producing the necessary quantity of exchange-goods, and this she was doing year after year until 1914, emigration with no intention of returning ceased almost like the turning off of a tap, while Germany became an immigration land for Slavs, Italians and eastern Jews. This situation misled many people among us here at home, and also among you in Great Britain, regarding our still existent needs and the foreign policy which they dictated.

Mistakenly, they failed to recognise that the import trade, and the export trade dependent upon it which brought prosperity to Germany in place of a meagre existence on the fruits of the German soil, really signified nothing less than an economic (not political) appropriation of foreign soil.

What else does it mean, when the sheep whose wool we use in our factories are grazed on foreign pastures, when the ores are extracted from foreign mines, the cotton grown in foreign fields, the cattle raised on foreign plains and the timber felled in foreign forests, all of which we in Germany use for our manufactures?

The existence of the Germans, therefore, still depended on the resources of the earth, but no longer on the fruits of her own insufficient soil; or rather—let me put it this way—on land acquired “on a short term lease”, in fact—already in 1910—on a foreign area three times as large as the whole surface of German-owned soil within the frontiers of the German Reich. In other words, in order to maintain the standard of life which we enjoyed from about 1890 till 1914 we had become leaseholders (on sufferance) of foreign soil, that is for as long as we were able by our work to pay the rent in foreign currency.

When the other great national economies, thanks to their own rich colonial lands, became more and more integrated into self-sufficient units, the former parson Friedrich Naumann, the best German democrat there has ever been, declared: “What must make illusory the German Malthusian phobia (the fear of overpopulation) is world trade.” He does

not, however, appear to have been entirely happy about this hope, for a little later, as early as 1907, he said; "Our increase in population had brought with it a proportionally greater average prosperity, but what guarantees have we that this will continue in the future? It cannot by any means be taken for granted that a greater density of population will correspondingly increase the amenities of life; on the contrary there seems to be a much greater danger that the multiplication of the race will be concomitant with a scarcity of goods."

Twelve years later the loss of the First World War and the Treaty of Versailles had again correlated overpopulation and scarcity, in fact to a greater extent than before the beginning of the great world trade, because we had been deprived of the opportunities to earn foreign currency for the purchase of raw materials needed for our special aptitudes, and our own money had ceased to have any value abroad.

However, I anticipate.

My Lord Archbishop,

I am aware that towards the end of the eighteen seventies Prince Bismarck, prematurely and optimistically hoping for the start of world trade, used the expression: "The German Empire is saturated." At that time it appeared to him that a menacing antagonism to Germany on the part of Great Britain and North America was out of the question. He knew at that time only four kinds of danger which might threaten the stability of the German people and state.

The first of these lay in Russia, with whom he therefore sought to keep peace at any price. The Russian peril had been patent ever since Russia became mistress of the Baltic under Peter the Great, mistress of Poland under Catherine, and the arbiter of Europe under Nicholas I. The second peril lay in France. Over and over again, from the Thirty Years War till Waterloo, she had made deep inroads into Germany, and her meddling in the internal affairs of Germany had continued until 1870. The two other perils which Bismarck feared were more of an internal political nature. They had arisen in the first place with the declaration of infallibility in the claim of Rome to spiritual and religious sovereignty, and the disharmony it caused between the northern Evangeli-



cal and the southern Catholic parts of our empire. And, secondly, they were latent in the growth of urban populations which had no connection with the soil, who lived from hand to mouth and let themselves be guided by men who had made a profession of political word-spinning and demagoguery.

Bismarck hoped that he would succeed in peaceably insulating the two external dangers which threatened the, as he thought, saturated Reich by the maintenance of a powerful standing army. He believed that world trade and social legislation would provide a remedy for any possible unrest of the masses. Finally he also believed that as the German people prospered and gained a wider experience of world affairs the pretensions of Rome would cease to matter.

That is where we Germans stood when, My Lord, about the middle of the eighteen nineties, the British became infected with the superstitious fear or suspicion of Germany—which ever you prefer to call it—and when for the first time currency was given to the unequivocal phrase: *Germania est delenda*.

This plain speaking ushered in, politically, a new era for the Reich. In our unfavourable geographical situation, because of which the German Länder have for centuries been the battlefields of Europe, we now had to envisage, in addition to the Eastern peril, the danger from France and Great Britain. We had to fear that, sooner or later, the British Empire would exclude us from world trade, and if the occasion offered would expel us from her economic life; and that, as a result, the urban masses in our poor and more than ever encircled country, then reduced to a bare level of subsistence after having been accustomed to prosperity, would break out in chaotic unrest.

No one in Germany saw how the new danger from Great Britain was to be met. When, in 1898, an Englishman tried to ascertain Prince Bismarck's views on the betterment of the suddenly dangerous deterioration of the relations between our two countries, the ex-Chancellor replied through his son-in-law that he had, unhappily, no suggestions to offer, because a stopper could not very well be put on German industry, and as things were that was the only step he could think of which would have the desired effect. He ought

to have added: "Not only our industry, but also the German practice of living as 'lodgers' in the British Empire has been as much a cause of friction as our import and export trade; and, circumstanced as we are, this can no more be stopped than our large-scale peddling of German goods all over the world, if chaotic distress is to be prevented among the new masses at home in Germany."

My Lord Archbishop,

I have long ago admitted how much a large section of the German press, and all our armchair politicians, were to blame for the further deterioration of Anglo-German relations because of their attitude in the years between the Jameson Raid and the Peace of Vereeniging of 1902. By their clumsy sentimentalism they poured oil on the smouldering fire of hostility to Germany which was ready to burst into flame. Only in that brief period of six years was there sporadically in Germany what there had never been before—an actual aversion to England.

With regard to this short-lived Anglophobia two things must be noted. It was less the result of what was happening in South Africa than of a cynical campaign in the English press. It arose because the bulk of the German people of every class had grown to accept a middle class morality even in international relations, and because Great Britain had suddenly flouted this bourgeois ethic. In his book *World Crisis* Winston Churchill described the growing rift in the following words:

"The transition from the apparent harmony to the transparent clash of interests may be placed about the turn of the century. Appropriately enough, it found its first expression in colonial policies. In the British mind it was primarily associated with events in South Africa."

The English Professor W. H. Carr makes allusion to this in his book *The Twenty Years' Crisis* 1919—1939: "Mr. Churchill dates the beginning of these violent times from the Jameson Raid."

The imperial German government, uninfluenced by the popular pro-Boer excitement, looked in every direction for a formula which might exorcize the danger of Britain's superstitious hostility. Many prescriptions were tried. One may

say that the government was anxious to take advantage of every favourable breeze, and in consequence steered a zig-zag course. All recommendations were contradictory.

The government was told: the practices of "lodging" and "peddling" in the British dominions and colonies must be put a stop to as soon as possible, or at all events German high-pressure competition there must be reduced. It was argued that both these practices, when pursued by foreigners, made more and more bad blood. Instead, the Reich should endeavour by peaceful methods, as far as this was still possible, to obtain dominions of its own with German currency. Furthermore, an attempt should be made to create a controlled barter trade against which no objection could be raised.

A highly-placed British administrative official with a life-long experience of Africa repeatedly counselled the abandonment of German aspirations in the African continent. He suggested that the Reich would be better advised to seek a source of raw materials and a barter market in the Near East, in the Balkans, in Asia Minor and in the direction of Baghdad.

The senselessness, as it was regarded, of building a German navy was criticized on many sides both at home and abroad. It was, said the critics, bound to be viewed as a bellicose gesture although, to be sure, the French, American, Russian and Japanese navies were not so regarded.

There was nothing that some-one or other, both at home and abroad, did not declare to be a false and suspicious move. In short, the German government was faced with the insoluble problem of finding a constant supply of raw materials, open markets and the best attainable free development of their natural aptitudes for a multiplying, industrious and restless people, within a country that was not 'naturally' but only 'artificially' rich, and was moreover hemmed in and perpetually threatened on its Eastern frontier.

As the political perplexity of those who understood the situation increased,—and as no fixed plan presented itself which offered the prospect of a tolerable economic security and might, at the same time, be expected to dispel the British nightmare,—most upper class Germans fell in with what

might have been called the Tirpitz Plan, for it corresponded to his views.

Had this plan been set down on paper it would have read : the acquisition of colonies of our own, as far as possible in agreement with Britain; the gradual limitation of our habit of 'lodging' and 'world-wide peddling', as Great Britain was clearly disturbed by both; the creation of a powerful, but not superior, navy which could not be suspected of any bellicose or aggressive intention such as we had to believe was attributed to us on many sides in England; and, finally, the unremitting endeavour to make common cause with Great Britain against the dangers from the East and against the danger common to all continental nations of a chaotic uprising of the masses.

I, too,—in my despondency—shared the faith of those who believed in this kind of nationalism, still hoping that it would point the way out of the deadlock which promised to have such fatal consequences for humanity.

My Lord Archbishop,

I know very well that many people in England, and also among us, thought and still think that the building of the German navy was primarily responsible for Great Britain's ranging herself on the side of our enemies, and declaring war on us in 1914. Such an opinion finds the sole reason for Great Britain's entry into the war in the building of the German navy, together with our advance through neutral Belgium. On that question it is open to everyone to believe what he has gathered from his reading, or what he has been told.

In the world of to-day most people—and this includes present-day historians—acquire their knowledge of what is going on around them no longer from positive inside knowledge, but are definitely the victims of bias, and that in our time means political propaganda.

It seems to me that if the excitement in Great Britain over the German navy, limited in size as it was, had been well-founded, a high-ranking British naval officer would not have proposed, in 1913, on board the cruiser *Breslau*, anchored off Albania, the friendly toast: "To the two white nations!"



Nor, on the day after the assassination in Sarajevo, would Sir John Warrender, the gallant admiral in command of the British battle squadron, on putting to sea from Kiel, have flown as a parting greeting to the German ships at anchor the signal: "Friends in the past and friends for ever." Finally, Churchill made this statement in the House of Commons on 30th July, 1934:

"Before the War the Liberal Government of those days did not hesitate to specify the quarter from which they expected danger and they did not hesitate to specify the navy against which we were determined to maintain an ample superiority. We measured ourselves before the War publicly and precisely against Germany. We laid down a ratio of 16 to 10 against existing programmes and of two to one against any additions to these programmes. Such calculations are perfectly well understood abroad. They were stated publicly and they bred no ill-will and caused no offence. As a matter of fact, the contrary was the case, and as the preponderance of our Navy grew stronger our relations with Germany steadily improved. . . . As a matter of fact, the relations between Great Britain and Germany were never better than on the eve of the War which arose from troubles entirely outside our relations with the German Government and from that very quarter in Europe where at the present time there is such a shocking and unmanageable state of affairs. . . . I say that the fact that our Navy was measured against the German Navy played no part in bringing about that struggle."

I think that no further evidence is required, even if the phrase *Germania est delenda* had not been written before Germany began to build a navy, and if the general antipathy to the Germans had not been so obvious in Great Britain before the Jameson Raid, before the Kaiser's telegram and before the Boer War.

My Lord Archbishop,

In an attempt to make intelligible our failure to make ourselves understood by you and your failure to understand us, it seems to me beside the point to raise the question whether the issue of the First World War was decided more by the victory in the field or by Northcliffe propaganda or by the German mutiny. There can, however, be no doubt that the great majority of the German people put its trust in the American President, and believed that a new order of human relationships would be the sequel to his promises as the first

step towards the realization of the biblical ideal "Peace and Goodwill unto men" after the errors of thousands of years.

The defeat and the disarmament of Germany and the collapse of Russia in 1918 made the Americans and the British the responsible and the sole umpires of the world. It was, therefore, the Americans and the British who should have initiated the great new order. It should have been among the two Anglo-Saxon Powers that the impetus to the new order should have been given, by men big enough—if necessary—to pronounce judgment on themselves. But such men were not there, or they were not given the opportunity. We Germans experienced the long hunger blockade after the war, the protracted retention of our prisoners of war, and the threat of armed attack on our now defenceless country. Later, the sentence of Versailles tried to deprive us of our honour and promulgated the political new order.

The Reich was robbed of 65,041 square kilometers with 6,062,111 inhabitants, of which approximately four million spoke German as their mother tongue. The wishes of the population were not consulted. 33,429 square kilometers belonging to the Reich with over three million inhabitants were declared plebiscite areas. The unanimous resolution of the Austrian National Assembly of 12th November 1918 that "German Austria is a constituent part of the German Republic" was declared null and void. All our territories overseas were stripped from the Reich, without any consideration of the wishes of the German settlers or the natives. The Reich was cut off from any access to markets of world trade. Her subjects in foreign lands, in the territories in Europe which had been amputated from the mother country, and in her colonies outside Europe, were virtually disfranchised and forced to return to the over-populated rump. Directly or indirectly, the future activities of Germans outside the dismembered Reich, of buyers and sellers, of peasants and soldiers, were partly restricted, partly entirely prohibited by innumerable enactments.

In other words this meant that the Germans whose livelihood within their own country, already in 1910, depended upon an area three times as large as the area bounded by the then frontiers of the German Reich were deprived of approxi-



mately two thirds of it; and, in addition, of parts of their own country, covering a total area of over 98,000 square kilometers with nine million inhabitants which, being the most sparsely populated parts of the Reich, were able to produce food for a further six and a half million by their agricultural surpluses. That means, in a nutshell, that in the spatially shrunken Germany a constantly increasing mass of people were packed together—in a way as thoroughly uneconomical as it was utterly bewildering—and denied, not only considerable new means of earning their living and feeding themselves, but also the old means of existence and solvency.

My Lord Archbishop,

During the First World War the half-French democratic Englishman, E. D. Morel, a writer imbued with an idealism similar to that of the German democrat Friedrich Naumann, published a well-known book *Truth and the War*. In one place he wrote: "It is a moral, physical and strategic impossibility to bottle up an elemental force such as that which the German people incarnate. It simply cannot be done."

Yet, with an astonishing moral nonchalance, the attempt was made on the German people for the first time in 1919 to bottle up this force morally, physically and strategically. Already at that time you in England had been talked into believing that in the case of the Germans you were not dealing with an elemental force, but with an abnormal and even criminal national fanaticism. I wrote at the time to an Englishman: "So it has become possible by the employment of strength against weakness, and principally by the use of the weapons of hunger and restriction of living space, to make a nation turn in frenzy against itself, so that in the struggle for food one man out of every three is trampled underfoot, so that new birth is stifled and the physical growth of the nation is stunted. And it has thus become conceivable in the age in which we are living that an exhausted state may be turned into a giant village of cottage industries where the people are expected to eke out a living from the work allotted to them, or if no work is given to them, to die. The number of children born into the village will be regulated by the amount of food there is to feed

them, and the muscles of its men will be kept by the nourishment of periodical allocations of food at a level of strength commensurate with the requirements of their foreign employers. It was possible to set about doing this, and such a moral, physical and strategic bottling-up of an elemental force had actually been attempted by the new order imposed on us by Versailles. One can only ask one question: what will come out of all this? One factor alone has been forgotten; the souls in the bodies, the coerced souls in the coerced bodies."

The architects of Versailles also forgot their own souls, and what a man makes of his own soul. Yes, yielding to the superstitious propaganda of the time, Lloyd George, against his personal and later expressed conviction, gave free rein to Clemenceau's senile thirst for revenge, and was so wrong in his judgment at Versailles that he said to Lord Riddell: "The truth is that we have got our way. We have got most of the things we set out to get. The German navy has been handed over, the German merchant shipping has been handed over, and the German colonies have been given up. One of our chief trade competitors has been seriously crippled."

My Lord Archbishop,

Although at the time of Versailles the British and the Americans were to all appearances the arbiters of the world, and although the peace treaty instead of bringing to birth a political new order in human affairs was aimed, one-sidedly and brutally, at the crushing of Germany, bequeathing to the succeeding generation the legacy of a "peaceless Europe", as the Italian Nitti called it, it did not breed a hatred of England in Germany. This fact is confirmed in numerous places in his memoirs by Viscount d'Abernon, who was sent as British Ambassador to Berlin in 1920 and remained there for five years to be the most heeded advisor of the successive German governments. I am not sure, for my part, whether one ought to praise or to blame the German people for its reluctance to hate its national adversaries whom it had faced as enemies in the war and by whom it had been defeated and dragooned. We used to say with a shrug of resignation: "We have been led up the garden path by President Wilson."

But we did not hate America. We said: "The French are to blame for Versailles; they are taking their revenge for the beating we gave them." But we did not hate the French. We said: "As for England, perhaps we failed rightly to understand the English, and the English certainly did not understand us rightly. We shall have to wait and see!" Even in the years which followed Versailles I never heard a bad word idly spoken against England among the German people. Viscount d'Abernon thought that a marked hostility to England was to be found only "among former naval officers and, to some extent, among ex-army officers whose professional careers had been interrupted suddenly by the comprehensive reduction of the regular army". That is not, however, true. No adherent of Tirpitz or of the Crown Prince, to give those groups their proper name, harboured a marked hostility to England in spite of everything. And commerce and industry felt themselves—one might say almost naturally—drawn towards Great Britain and America.

Immediately after Versailles there were two schools of thought among Germans who truly loved their country. The one hoped, sooner or later, to bring about a revision of the evil decisions of Versailles through a close collaboration with Russia, believing that such a collaboration would help to protect us from the immoderation of the Poles, and from continually threatening and threatened Polish attacks. The other, the Western school, expected help from Great Britain. They thought that Great Britain was most likely to offer us protection against the French, but also against the greed and provocations of the Poles. At the outset these two convictions were not contradictory. The pro-Russians were all, admittedly, anti-French, but they were in no sense anti-British. The good opinion of England was strengthened by the so much more decent behaviour of the British troops then occupying Germany, by the reluctance of the British to connive at the fake separatist movement in the Rhineland, by the attitude of British officers before, during and after the Polish plebiscite disorders in Upper Silesia and Western Prussia, by the declaration of the judicial advisers of the British Crown that there was no legal justification for the French occupation of the Ruhr, and by other things. . .

This good opinion of England persisted, one might almost add strangely. In the meanwhile England, where up to 1933 more and more voices of protest were raised against Versailles, took no steps, did nothing whatever, to remove the worst injustices of the dictated peace treaty and by the correction or amendment of these mistakes not only to smooth the path of the democratic government in Germany, but also to serve the interests of Great Britain herself and the cause of our imperilled European humanism. England presumably did not believe that humanism in Europe was at stake. Then, as to-day, the possibility was not envisaged in England that proletarianism might banish and eventually extinguish culture. Then, as to-day, England did not recognize that encircled Germany, with utterly insufficient means at her disposal, has been for decades waging a tremendous, momentous war against an impending proletarianization.

At the time of the French seizure of the Ruhr, at the time when a constant threat of an attack by the Poles hung over us, at the time when England, in spite of the warnings of those Englishmen who read the signs, stood idly by and failed to grasp what the advance of the tide of proletarianism and mass-mindedness from the East towards the West must mean to her, National Socialism won its first adherents in Germany.

As one began to be aware of National Socialism one found that it was hardly opposed to the views of the two schools of thought I have mentioned above, the one of which looked to Russia for salvation, the other to Great Britain, but the National Socialism then taking shape sprung from an idea different from both. This idea was: "Whoever looks to others for help must first show that he is able to be constructive on his own."

My Lord Archbishop,

Now that in Germany in 1945 the word National Socialism has been made a term of opprobrium, and as one cannot gloss it over without some explanation, I must beg a favour of you. Dismiss from your mind for a moment, as far as it is humanly possible to-day, what propaganda, war, pressure and extremity, the desperate and quite understandable hatred



of its victims and the creeping mental sickness of the Austro-German party leader Hitler have, ostensibly and actually, made out of this movement in the course of twenty-three years. Remember that it seemed once to many a good man the first flush of a new dawn, that it was imbued with honest, ethical aspirations, and even showed the genuine promise of the fulfilment of human hopes. At the same time forget the grotesque fable, grotesque on the lips of members of the great World Powers, that "the German people" aimed at world domination over Great Britain, over Russia, and over the United States as well! Lastly, do not allow yourself at this juncture to be deluded by the conception of "Hitlerism" which began to show its face only very much later, or by the outcry of the many who accuse and damn it only in order to throw a smoke screen over their own guilt, or to stifle the consciousness of guilt in their own hearts.

I dare say that National Socialism in its early days was a great deal more than an internal political movement, and certainly more than an external political movement. One would not be far wrong in calling it a moral, one might even say a religious, rather than a political movement which, by obeying the precept "the common interest before self-interest", was trying, even unconsciously, to consummate the imperfect German Reformation begun by Luther. In place of the sense of individual isolation, of the struggle of every man against his neighbour, of work regarded merely as a means of livelihood, of selfish profit-seeking regardless of the common weal, a new conception of life should be put into practice. The acceptance of the brotherhood and the reciprocal obligations of one fellow-countryman to another was to point the way at last to a world realization of the mutual obligations of all mankind. The movement offered to Germany in a time of her lowest decline a challenge the acceptance of which was indeed uncomfortable, for the demands of National Socialism on its followers were uncompromising. Yet they were obeyed out of idealism and hopefulness.

Such was the face of National Socialism in the beginning, and by this light the half of its adherents must be judged. It still shone with its morning brightness when the party

came to power in 1933, and so gained consequence also for my district of Lower-Saxony. Let me give you an instance. The protestant churches which had been empty since Versailles were again for a time filled by young National Socialists, and very many of us who had lost our courage and our illusions went about with cheerful hearts and wore unaccustomed, happy smiles.

Despite appearances to the contrary, National Socialism did not lose its distinct religious character until the war was well advanced. If official England had not been so quick to misconstrue its essentially religious enthusiasm, and had influenced, encouraged and guided it by nothing save a fair-minded helpfulness, the new "Protestant" movement in Germany might have been of service to all mankind; for the whole world, vexed more and more by unrest, stands at a cross-road from which the way may lead to something better or else to something very much worse.

But let me not mention all the basic principles of National Socialism, ideal and material, political and religious, by way of apology or excuse, but rather with an eye to the future. It will thus appear that all are closely linked together, and that it is extraordinarily difficult to separate them.

The factor which must be generally accepted as the prime cause of the movement seems to be one I have already mentioned, namely the insurrection of the masses. This had begun everywhere on the continent of Europe. The German masses were actuated, as well as by greed for the enjoyment of all the good things of modern life, by a surprising impulse to get free of all half-truths, compromises and shams, and to pierce to the core of things. In this way they hoped to attain a happy moral as well as material earthly existence. The young National Socialist movement was itself a part of the upwards march of the masses. It was, however, also a defensive movement against mass-leavening, a stand against the surrender of the yearning for higher things than materialism and greed. National Socialism became politically powerful after Versailles, in the days of great national distress. In the west was the army of occupation; from the west the French with their riding switches and their coloured troops and a suborned separatism were encroaching upon the Rhine-



land and the Ruhr. In the east the Poles were trying their unskilled hand at statecraft; they were permitting the ruin of a sedulously cultivated civilisation, they had dismembered Germany, and by means of press provocation kept the Germans living on the frontier in constant fear of imminent attack. Not only were trade and commerce prostrate everywhere in the Reich, but the old, highly educated middle class which had for centuries begotten all the great scientific and artistic achievement and all the liberal thought of Central Europe was the hardest hit of all. The sons of this unexpectedly deposed class suddenly found themselves adrift; half the traditional openings in which they would have made a career were closed to them. They look about them searching not for someone whom they could blame for their predicament but for causes: the causes for the collapse of 1918, the causes of the lamentable attitude of large sections of our people towards the foreign conquerors in our country, the causes of the hectic whirl of pleasure-seeking and frivolity in our big cities and much of our womanhood, the causes of the denunciation and betrayals. They believed they had found the answer. They thought—and they were right—that our people, in our increasingly difficult political and economic situation in Central Europe, had been misled. They blamed their fathers for closing their eyes to the good of the community, for shutting themselves off from the life of the nation. They had been blind to the deterioration of the race; they had been afraid to make a stand against plutocracy and the proletarianization of the middle class; they had allowed renegade intellectuals, both Aryans and Jews, to thrust themselves forward in the press and in internal politics; they had sat by with folded arms and connived at the destruction of the monarchy by tasteless jokes and servility.

One may say that National Socialism, which was at the beginning a Rankers movement, was given a social boost by the disgruntled sons of the highly educated middle class, who thought in this way to make up for the remissness of their fathers in their duty to the nation and the state. They, the sons, were ready and willing to serve instead of leading, for the sake of the inner salvation of their country.

The various types who joined the movement—the rankers

who led it; the inhibited sons of the old middle class; the religious seekers after honourable earthly happiness; the tormented fanatical nationalists; the apostles of an atonement who preached the simple life, hygiene and eugenics; those who believed in a new and nobler national fellowship; those who detested the threatening mass-mindedness—all these had a twin aversion in common: an aversion to Communism and an aversion to the disrupting influence of the Jews. They also shared a hope in English England.

The aversion to Communism hardly needs explaining. It was rooted in the German's tough attachment to the bit of land or property which he had earned by hard work, and in a horror of what was happening in Russia, events which were far closer and more perceptible to us than to you, and in a disinclination for further destruction of which we thought we had had quite enough.

The aversion to the Jews requires an explanation, because of its atrocious consequences. For it seems that the inhuman atrocities committed against the Jews under the later Hitlerism excuse and justify every sin which has been and is being committed against Germany, and almost to substantiate *a priori* every false and abominable charge that has been and is being brought against the German people. Superstition played a part in this antipathy to the Jews, a superstition similar to that which England cherished against the Germans in the middle of the eighteen nineties. The Jews had flocked in ever increasing numbers from the East into the Reich in the days when Germany was recently united and beginning to flourish, and partly by their industry, partly by an unscrupulousness alien to us, and partly by their quicker wits had sometimes thriven where native Germans had failed to get on. They settled themselves in, elbowing out the old middle class, and yet remained foreigners in sentiment and mentality. Unlike the Germans in England, some of these Eastern Jews brought with them sharp business practices, and unlike the Germans in conservative, stable England, intellectuals among these aliens too often rejoiced in sowing the seeds of political disruption in the unstabilized Reich. It is rightly said that the bane of Anti-Semitism is contagious, but it is also true that in its arrogance the Jewish fungus

adulterated, disturbed and contaminated the minds and behaviour of a people which had not yet found its solidarity, and this was never more markedly and unquestionably evident than in the sorely stricken Germany of 1917-1933. During this period Jews, with the disapproval of the older German Jewry, did more than any other internal element to undermine democracy and tolerance in the German Republic.

The hope of National Socialism in English England requires a special comment. It differed from the almost general German hope. Great Britain, so thought the early National Socialists, would be the first to recognise the significance of a sorely needed reformation and return to sanity, in the first place for Germany itself, and subsequently for the whole continent. England, they thought,—so long as she herself remained undisturbed by the Germans—would be the first to appreciate the necessity for a Germany purged of rottenness and decay as a buffer against the East, and against proletarianisation. Lastly, England because of her racial preservation, her unity, her purposeful national achievement and her purposeful retention of old customs and traditions, appeared to them as the great model which they should copy.

At this point and in this connection mention must be made of two misapprehensions to which loud-mouthed Germans have in no small measure contributed, and still contribute. I allude to the racial question and the charge of imperialism which—if everything were not so tragic—must sound comic when brought against a people so utterly unpolitical as the Germans.

The racial question is part and parcel of the Jewish question. The racial question, as such, had originally nothing whatever to do with the Jews. Vide the article *A Biological View of our Foreign Policy*, quoted above from the *Saturday Review*, which is full of racial pride but can nowhere be suspected of anti-Semitism. And why should a German or an Englishman or a Frenchman who is proud of his own race be for that reason anti-Semitic; or for that matter why should a race-proud Jew be anti-German? The endeavour to keep the race pure and to purify it had a totally different origin. We saw, after Versailles, the spread of rottenness

and corruption, but we also became aware how far our physical, as well as our moral, degeneration had progressed. Degeneration becomes more noticeable in a nation's dark days than in days of prosperity. There existed a passionate desire for the regeneration of our race, both in physical and in moral purity. That was the beginning. It was a crying need, and anything but arrogance.

The ambitions of the German people, which have been misinterpreted as imperialism and even as a plan to dominate the world, had a very simple and, I repeat the word, unpolitical object. All classes of the nation cherished a common desire: the desire that every son and every daughter might become what God had intended them to be, without sacrificing either their mother tongue or their own beliefs. This laudable desire of parents and gifted children was, I believe, even stronger than the general desire of the rising masses for the full enjoyment of modern life. It is certainly linked with that other stimulus of the masses, the yearning to attain at last a human earthly happiness in which fine words and promises and projects should at last be realized in fulfilment and in action.

From the eighteen-eighties onwards, the time when large scale emigration became conspicuous, the new generation was restricted in its opportunities by Germany's lack of space. The growing industry admittedly created openings, but chiefly for those with technical and commercial aptitudes. By Versailles these openings in every field were—literally—cut off.

Our unpolitical people did not of themselves connect their trouble with its cause, but all those who were trying on its behalf to remove the incubus of Versailles, which so crippled the nation as a whole, had perforce to exert every effort to gain such power as was necessary to make themselves respected in the Council of Nations, to get the ban of outlawry lifted; in short, to make themselves heard.

In England during the war, in 1940, there appeared the best historical-political book of modern times. It was written by Professor E. H. Carr. Its title is *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939*. In this book power and the struggle for power



are discussed at great length and with the utmost sobriety. In one passage the author writes :

“Unfortunately Germany was almost wholly deficient for fifteen years after the war in that power which is, as we have seen, a necessary motive force in political change; and this deficiency prevented effect being given, except on a minor scale, to the widespread consensus of opinion that parts of the Versailles Treaty ought to be modified. By the time Germany regained her power, she had become—not without reason—almost wholly disillusioned about the role of morality in international politics. There was not even, as late as 1936, any reasonable prospect of obtaining major modifications of the Versailles Treaty by peaceful negotiation unsupported by the ultimatum or the *fait accompli*. Even though she continued to base her claims on the grounds of justice, Germany expressed them more and more clearly in terms of naked force; and this reacted on the opinion of the *status quo* countries, which became more and more inclined to forget earlier admissions of the injustices of the Versailles Treaty and to consider the issue as exclusively one of power.”

My Lord Archbishop,

It is essential that I should here give an explanation why I did not myself join the National Socialist party, and consequently got into trouble of one kind or another with the National Socialist government in the years between 1933 and 1939.

When I came home from the First World War and had to some extent recovered from my bewilderment, I realized that a revolution had indeed been necessary, but that it ought to have been made by the old educated middle class as the pillars of culture instead of by political place-seekers, deserters and misguided intellectuals from envious motives. The object of the revolution ought to have been a complete truth and honesty among men in word and deed, instead of the half truth and half falsehood which has prevailed until this day. But when would the representatives of culture have started a revolution anywhere? And as things stood with us would not a revolution have been a direct help to the enemy and consequently the betrayal of our country? I also realized, principally because of my fifteen years experience of the British, that the decisions of the dictated Versailles Treaty made it equally impossible for Germany to live or to die.

We in North Germany began to take seriously the new

National Socialist movement in the winter of 1922-23. I saw that we were on the eve of a second, a higher form of revolution; but still a revolution which, though its main-springs were no longer envy, the deserter, the political place-seeker and the misguided intellectual, was not led by the old cultured class.

Many things predisposed me in favour of this declared revolution. These were the absolute purpose of national unity; the earnest desire for a thorough honesty; the almost passionate readiness for an Anglo-German collaboration; the first noticeable concern in Europe for the passing of an era and for the new world which should arise upon its ashes; the demand, in spite of the general upward surge of the masses, that quality and all that quality implied should be fostered and protected; and the attempt to obtain a revision of the Versailles Treaty by international agreement for the good of everybody.

From the very beginning I was repelled by the chosen Führer and mentor, and by the superficiality, as it seemed to me, of his Austrian character, his voracious and rambling mind. I was moreover repelled by the shallow, but all the more vehemently asserted, economic theories and feather-brained ideas of some of his collaborators, and disgusted by the anti-Semitism formulated officially by the party.

Besides I very soon had misgivings that, under a leadership unsure of its own level, the double and simultaneous wooing of the masses and the elite must swiftly and inevitably lead to the betrayal of the elite, and at the same time to a war of extermination against the old educated middle class and against all and every aristocracy of culture.

Lastly, it was clear to me that the poet and the writer who, like the priest and the spiritual pastor, has a vocation to integrate, to "think integrally", did not belong in the ranks of a party.

Therefore I remained aloof.

My Lord Archbishop,

Before the Second World War two horrifying events happened in Germany the like of which we had never known to happen among Germans in all our history, except perhaps



the murder of hostages by the Communists in Munich in 1919, and except the witch hunts of bygone centuries and incidents during the Peasant Wars. Great bloody revolutions such as had happened in France and in Russia, and once in England, had never happened in Germany.

These two horrifying events were the "court martial" after the so-called Röhm revolt in 1934 and the ostensibly spontaneous popular rising against the Jews on the night of 10 November, 1938. The dumbfounded German people were not concerned in the circumstances of the "court martial"; to this very day we do not know the truth, and shall never learn it in its entirety. But in the dastardly Jew-baiting of the November night ten thousand Germans throughout the Reich actively participated, and another hundred thousand Germans were probably spectators.

I was unable to obtain a clear picture of this revolting occurrence. There were no Jews in the village in which I lived. The details I heard from outside sources weighed heavily on my heart. I felt myself tormented as a human being and defiled as a German. I saw that this cowardly, un-German behaviour would loom larger than the injustice done to our whole nation, and would incalculably magnify and aggravate every hostile misunderstanding of Germany.

I believe in the sincerity of Hitler's outburst when he is said to have flung at his adviser Goebbels in a moment of fury the words: "By these insane actions you have retarded National Socialism and me by many years, if you have not smashed us altogether!"

Ten days after that night of excesses against the Jews I received a telephone message, summoning me to an interview in Berlin. For two weeks I held out against a daily insistence. I went, after the person entrusted with the message had informed me that it was proposed to steer a new course in cultural policy and that Goebbels wished to hear my views. All that happened at the interview was that Goebbels threatened to put me in a concentration camp because of my presumed increasingly hostile attitude to National Socialism. No allusion was made to the Jews.

After another eight weeks of suspense I heard privately that Goebbels had also made threats and accusations against

some other intellectuals with the object of finding out where cells of resistance might have been organised as a result of the night of Jew-baiting.

Except for the Röhm affair and the night of Jew-baiting I cannot from my own personal experience discover anything positively evil which happened between 1933 and the Second World War. The night of 10 November 1938 remains a disgraceful stigma, and Heaven forbid that I should be thought to condone it if I remind you that worse things occurred in times of revolution in other countries, and that in these same years 1933-1939 an infinitely greater number of people were killed and tortured in the East—I refrain from naming the countries—*without* any apparent revolution.

If the German people during the National Socialist pre-war period had been really collectively possessed by a spirit of evil, as you and others besides you now wish to make out, surely that would have induced the leading statesmen of the rest of the world to sever diplomatic relations with the German people and prevented them from accepting German hospitality at the 1936 Olympiad. Certainly the statesmen and the ambassadors of foreign powers received through their informants vastly more information, both false and accurate, about what was going on behind the scenes in Germany, and learnt more of the ugly truth behind the specious mask, than we at home silently toiling and hoping since the debacle of Versailles.

Apart from the Röhm horror and the night of the Jew-baiting, the silently toiling and hopeful natives of Germany tolerated the severity of the methods employed by the National Socialist government, not from an addiction to brutality, but because it had become clear to them that the rottenness and disease which had infected the life of the community ever since the Deserter-Revolution of 1918 and was virulent after Versailles could not be allowed to go on. They understood that lawlessness cannot be crushed with a velvet glove. Once for all, national unity must be established, if necessary by force. Before it was too late, the everlasting critics and grumblers, the sex perverts and the carriers of spiritual poison must be eliminated, and the soulless mastery of money checked. Once for all, the State—I know how dangerously

this conception can be enlarged, and the idea was long repulsive to me personally—must enforce its will, like the captain of a ship in an emergency. And an emergency existed.

In those six years we sensitive intellectuals suffered. The national conscience was certainly injured—as is happening again at the present time—by the enforced silence and the compulsory acquiescence. But if one looks away from this damage and from the Jewish question, more was done in that time, in the years 1933-1939, internally for the health of the nation, for mothers and children, in the way of mutual assistance than has been done at any time, yes—one may even say—anywhere.

As regards the measures of coercion which at that time—except in the case of the Jews—were not yet inhuman, one fact must not be overlooked. In the fight for the future control of the state Communism was in the forefront of the opposition to National Socialism, Communism backed by the Russian Comintern and the U.S.S.R. And where the National Socialists threw their irreconcilable enemies into concentration camps, which were not at that time butcheries, Communism would have murdered its opponents, and in fact did so.

Besides, a good half of those persons who were confined in the early concentration camps would elsewhere have been lodged in “detaining houses”. There were no “detaining houses” in Germany.

In the years 1933-1939, however, the German state system did not work internally in such a way that the German people were likely to have been possessed by a spirit of absolute evil. For the majority it was a time of great hopes of personal betterment. And even those of us who came of older stock, whose ways were the ways of culture and whose nerves were frayed by the rough edges of National Socialism, imagined that Hitler would not last, that the Party would eventually abdicate in accordance with its own programme, or if not would, sooner or later, sheathe its claws and bequeath a legacy more beneficial than detrimental.

What National Socialism did has been excellently summed up by a perspicacious English writer, Professor Carr, who

says in his book *Conditions of Peace*:

"Hitler, like Napoleon, has performed the perhaps indispensable function of sweeping away the litter of the old order. The new order must be built by other hands and by other methods."

This truth holds good both for Hitler's foreign policy and for the internal conditions of Central Europe. To be sure, both within and without, much litter has been swept away since Hitler and since those words were written.

My Lord Archbishop, a hundred and seventy years ago the Göttingen mathematician Lichtenberg made the remark that the pagan Tacitus detected behind the motives of every action the agency of the devil. Is there not a risk to-day that—under the influence of an incessant propaganda—one may get into a similar dangerous habit of looking for evil?

My Lord Archbishop,

I am still less prepared to admit the agency of the devil in the foreign policy of the Reich and in the steps that were taken to implement it during the period 1933-1939 than I am to admit it in contemporary happenings in Germany. I beg leave to make the personal comment that, if Great Britain had been in Germany's situation, a Briton would have expected his government to pursue a foreign policy no different from that pursued by the German government. This assumption would seem to be borne out by a remark of Mr. Churchill's in reference to Hitler, as reported in *The Times* of 7 November, 1938; "I have always said that if Great Britain were defeated in war I hoped we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful position among the nations."

The German people, in its majority, did not instigate the different actions of its government, but there is no doubt that it heartily endorsed them. Whether the procedure was right in every case, whether there was not too great a precipitancy, are separate questions.

Apparently in every part of the world political propaganda is almost capable, when it comes to the point, of making right seem wrong; for how else should we Germans, for instance, understand that the accused at the bar of the victors' tribunal at Nuremberg were indicted for the *invasion* of Austria? Austria is my own beloved motherland. For



barely two decades after the dissolution of the Deutsche Bund in 1866 Austria was artificially separated from the rest of Germany; the Austrian is no less a German than the Hanoverian, the Bavarian, the Saxon and the Hessian. And after their defeat in the First World War—I have already mentioned this—the Austrians, officially and unasked, declared themselves to be a part of the German Republic. Vienna was moreover for centuries the imperial city of the Reich. There may have been some hundreds, or if you like some thousands, who swam against the stream and denied the unity of the whole German race, but such people have existed among the Germans over and over again.

The other external political acts of the German government, before and after it brought German Austria back into the fold, were the return to the Reich of the Austro-German Sudetenland and Memel, and the establishment of the Protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia.

As to the wisdom of the last step there were many doubts within Germany. It was the occasion for enemy propaganda outside Germany to form a front against her. The Reich promised the Czech people not to interfere with the preservation and development of their national way of life, and they continued to enjoy cultural autonomy and economic prosperity throughout the war. Czechs were not drafted as German soldiers. Germans still had to obtain a special authorisation before they were allowed to travel into, or settle in, Bohemia and Moravia. I do not need to explain to Your Grace in addition that Bohemia and Moravia had belonged to the Reich for more than a thousand years and had flourished under it; and that the Reich's most ancient German university, and one of its most famous, was in Bohemia. But the Protectorate was not proclaimed for any historical reasons. The motive was a very grave anxiety. Bohemia cuts in two the German parts of the Reich, and if occupied by an enemy is, as long as the old nationalism persists in Europe, a thorn in the flesh of the Reich. The German anxiety was caused by political mischief-makers and opportunists in Prague, who served their own ardent ambition and nothing else, and by the way these politicians were flirting with the dreaded forces of Communism in the East.



My Lord Archbishop,

There are two directly opposite opinions about the actions of the German government in its dealings with other countries before the Second World War. I state first the British view as it was temperately formulated by the *Nineteenth Century and After* in its September issue of 1943 in an article entitled "Integration or Disintegration". It has very often been propounded in harsher and more violent terms. This editorial says:

"The commonly accepted view that Germany made war to dominate the world is, in our opinion, mistaken. She wanted to be a World Power, but World Power and World Domination are not the same thing (England is a World Power, but she does not dominate the World). Hitler would have been glad to share the World with the English. They are the only nation for whom he had any deep regard. His book, *Mein Kampf*, is permeated by this regard. His main purpose in going to war was to subjugate the European mainland and then to open up Russia for German colonization. Had England remained neutral, he would have been successful.

But she would then have been at his mercy, or at the mercy of his successor—in any case, at the mercy of the German nation. The new masters of Europe would have had at their disposal resources much vaster than those of the British and American empires combined. . . . Nothing could have saved England from destruction—except the good-will of the Germans. And on that good-will there can be no reliance. Indeed, no nation (the English alone excepted, perhaps) would, if able to grasp so rich a prize, refrain."

Those of us who were not National Socialists and have therefore no cause to defend the actions of the National Socialist form of the Reich government when it was in power, but who perfectly understood the meaning of every move made by it in the thirties, have another simpler and more sober interpretation to offer. We know that Party-National Socialism hoped, with undue self-confidence as it afterwards turned out, to be able to carry through a total reformation within Germany from an obsolete age to a healthy new era.

Party National Socialism, like Bolshevism, was convinced that mankind and history were turning the corner of a new epoch, and that it had an entirely new and efficacious panacea to offer.

Unlike Bolshevism, it believed that it was able to shape the new epoch in such a way that there would be no interference with creative work or with the retention of rightfully acquired property, without which latter there can, of course, be no creative work or culture.

It believed that, as an essential condition for the success of an internal reformation, the Reich must regain its unity within frontiers embracing a homogeneous people and assuring its adequate security.

The realisation of this dream appeared to depend upon three things. First, that our ears should no longer be assailed from across the border, disturbingly and confusingly, by the reproachful cry of the seventeen million Germans whom Versailles and St. Germain had made the subjects and soldiers of foreign peoples. Secondly, that our reformation should not—as in fact happened—be interrupted half way through, undermined and frustrated by hostile attacks from our neighbours. And thirdly, that Communism in the East should be taught to regard Germany as an impregnable wall, for in Central Europe everyone was familiar with Lenin's prophecy: "The First World War gave us (Bolsheviks) Russia; the Second World War will give us Europe."

Certainly those of us who were not National Socialists admitted that Germany, as it reincorporated successively Austria, the Sudetenland, Memel and Bohemia, and tried to get back the Corridor, the German city of Danzig and Upper Silesia, was strengthened as a political Power by reason of the diminution of the danger of Bolshevik invasion and of foreign political intrigue in the very heart of German territory. If only the superstitious fear and suspicion of Germany in Great Britain had been dispelled, would not the peace and security of Europe have been at last consolidated?

And how does Your Grace think that Great Britain or even the United States would have behaved towards Bohemia if they had been in Germany's position?

My Lord Archbishop,

Among the external political acts of the National Socialist government to which the rest of the Germans were committed there is the agreement of 30 September, 1938. On

that day a pact was signed by the British Prime Minister and the Führer of the National Socialist government, framed in the following terms:

"We are agreed in recognizing that the question of Anglo-German relations is of the first importance for the two countries and for Europe. We regard the agreement signed last night for the transference of Sudeten-German territory to the Reich as symbolic of the desire of our peoples never to go to war with one another again."

My Lord Archbishop,

I know of no single item of news during my lifetime which released so much optimism, yes, so much elation and so profound a feeling of thankfulness in the hearts of all the perturbed and thoughtful, in all the men of good will in my country.

It seemed that an incalculably great victory had been won for Europe and for civilisation. The sinister question mark which barred the way to the new epoch in the history of mankind appeared to have been erased. We could look forward to an upwards progress of mankind instead of awaiting a threatened decline, now that the nightmare of Anglo-German misunderstanding had been dissipated. It appeared to be the beginning of the fulfilment of the words of the Revelation of St. John: "I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away, and there was no more sea!"

Special advantages for Germany?

No, we certainly did not expect any. But, if we hoped for some special advantage to Germany from the pact, it was that the progressive accommodation of Anglo-German relations would remove the necessity for the rigours of National Socialism and put a stop to its excesses.

We also hoped for our people, as for the members of all nations, that every man and woman would, in the not too distant future, enjoy an unimpaired right, independent of all political and inherited limitation, to the full use of their God-given talents and full freedom to cultivate their mother tongue and their personal beliefs.

We contemplated the realization of that better earthly life which humanity had vainly looked for to the churches for almost two thousand years.

We expected that a solution would be found for innumerable great and little problems; that metaphysics would again catch up with technical progress; that a way would be found to reconcile mass-mindedness and creativeness; that the world-wide Jewish question would be finally and cleanly solved by the foundation of a Jewish state; that a general limitation of armaments, an agreement to ban the dropping of bombs and the use of aircraft as weapons of war would be achieved.

Nothing any longer seemed impossible, with Germany in step with Great Britain; with Germany, hungry for the fulfilment of her destiny and everlastingly protesting against her incompleteness, marching into the future side by side with England, conservative, accustomed to security and racially so much healthier than we.

Never shall I forget the fever of excitement in which I and others waited for the radio announcement of the Chamberlain-Hitler pact, for the news broadcast from England and abroad, for the daily arrival of my copy of *The Times* of which I had been a subscriber and reader for many years. I visited my neighbours on the chance of being able to peruse other English newspapers and periodicals and illustrated papers. I wanted to find out for myself, uninfluenced by National Socialist propaganda, what was being said and thought outside Germany.

This blissful optimism lasted till after the pictures of the return of Chamberlain and his companions to an aerodrome in England, till after the speech he made on landing.

Then from the moment of his arrival a cold douche appeared to be turned on him and his supporters, and on us, the Germans.

Consult the British newspapers of that time and compare them with the German newspapers of the same date. Compare the pronouncements and the tone of the six or nine great German newspapers in any week between 1895 and 1939 with six or nine British newspapers, where the former wrote about England and the latter wrote about Germany. You will come across tactless stupidities in the German press during the



Boer War, and of course a good deal of bombast between 1914-1918, but it is hardly malignant. For all the remaining years you will have to admit that the Germans come well out of the comparison.

In the first weeks of October 1938 the strongest hope of my life in a general and early European millenium collapsed. The drum-fire of superstitious fear and suspicion in England was once again too violent.

It is in the light of this situation that the declaration made by the National Socialist Führer, the German-Austrian Hitler, on 9 October 1939 must be understood: "The statesmen who oppose us wish for peace. We must believe that of them. Only they govern in countries whose inner construction makes it possible that they may at any time be superseded by others who aim less steadfastly at peace. And these others are there. It is only necessary for Mr. Duff Cooper or Mr. Eden or Mr. Churchill to come to power in place of Chamberlain for us to be sure that the aim of these men would be to start a new war immediately. They make no bones about it, they say so openly. That obliges us to be vigilant and to consider the defence of the Reich. At all times willing for peace, but also ready at every hour to defend ourselves."

I had for a very long time avoided listening to any speech of Hitler, a man with whom I could not bring myself into spiritual harmony. But I had to agree with these words. In bitterness and silence I had to beg his pardon, for now he was quite right. Even if one could not help otherwise being alienated, even to the point of loathing, by the peculiar stamp of his nature, he was—more's the pity—right.

In the face of the daily growing danger of war, the sequel, in so far as it was determined by the Reich government, thenceforward until for the second time Great Britain declared herself at war with Germany, was inevitable. Any leader of the Reich, whether Kaiser or tribune of the people, soldier or pacifist, threatened with the storm clouds gathering in the East, threatened with the storm clouds gathering in the West and overshadowing the Reich, would have been bound to grasp at any available guarantee of better security.

In December 1938, in spite of a ceaseless agitation in England, a Franco-German pact was successfully concluded



with the confirmation of existing frontiers and the promise of future good neighbourly relations.

In March 1939 the Protectorate was proclaimed over Bohemia and Moravia. In March 1939 Lithuania gave the German Memelland back to the Reich. In March 1939 Hitler invited the Poles to waive their objections to the return of Danzig and to the ex-territorial passage of railway traffic across the Corridor to East Prussia, in return for the recognition by Germany of the Versailles frontiers of Poland and the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression for twenty five years.

In the same month of 1939 Great Britain offered the Poles a pact of mutual assistance, guaranteeing the old decisions of Versailles, albeit the Corridor question and the separation of Danzig from the Reich had been regarded by very many Englishmen as a specially stupid blunder of the dispensation of Versailles.

This led to the denunciation by the German government of the Anglo-German naval agreement of 1935 because "in the official policy of England and in the British press the opinion prevails that no matter in what conflict the Germans should someday be entangled Britain would always have to take her stand against Germany, and therefore the basis of the naval treaty has been removed." (Hitler's speech in the Reichstag, 29 April, 1939).

My Lord Archbishop,

This summary of events, as they appeared to me at the time, brings me to the war, the war between Germany and Poland which—however events may be retrospectively explained and new light shed upon them, had very little to do with the ill-will of the dictator Hitler, and even less with a desire of the German people for war. It also brings me to the war between our two countries which British politicians thought it necessary to declare against us.

My Lord Archbishop,

Towards the end of the year 1945 the "newspapers" printed in German published a report from London dated 18 December. This report read: "Leading personalities of the German church fully acknowledge Germany's war guilt,

but this acknowledgement is by no means shared by the whole population; such was the impression gained by a delegation of leading English churchmen during a visit to Germany."

I should like to be allowed to add a few words of comment to this report.

Your Grace is aware that there is no establishment which can be called the German Church. The Christian creeds which have existed among us have through the centuries been concerned with preparing the individual for a happy life in the hereafter. All denominations have more or less timidly shirked the duty to promote a full and complete life here below, and have left the growing numbers of troubled people without an answer to all the new riddles of human development.

It is no wonder that the different denominations were embarrassed by the first attempts at a total reformation, made in Russia by Bolshevism and in Germany by National Socialism, seeing that they themselves had neither satisfied nor endeavoured to satisfy the special metaphysical needs of the time. The embarrassment in purely ecclesiastical matters in Germany was not very considerable. I, for instance, know of no martyr for his church in Germany—I am not speaking now of a purely political clash—who came into more serious collision with National Socialism than the former naval officer Pastor Niemöller, who was once revered by so many.

It is understandable that after the German collapse, after the utter failure apparently of a sorely needed reformation, after National Socialism had been transmogrified into pathological Hitlerism, the representatives of the various creeds, along with others who had been oppressed and persecuted, should have tried to find a solution embracing at the same time a personal apologia and an admission of collective guilt. It may be gathered, for example, from a sermon delivered by Pastor Niemöller in a Göttingen church that he also considered a confession of German war-guilt to be the right road of atonement; for otherwise, with the urns of "six million" slaughtered Jews standing between us and the world, we should be for ever excluded from the comity of nations. I was stunned by this shattering change of front. Next to

the fate of the Germans who are being subjected to daily continued persecution in the East in the present time of peace, the appalling fate of the Jews and the crimes perpetrated against them weighed on my soul like lead. The one burden renders more intolerable the burden of the other; it unhinges the brain to the verge of madness. But how can this German witness Niemöller, for example, quote the propaganda figure "six millions" from the pulpit? By which I do not infer that another and lesser figure would lessen the magnitude of the crime.

My Lord Archbishop,

I hold it to be utterly wrong to try to gloss over the monstrous aberration and lunacy of humanity, *for reasons which go back far into the past*, by saddling a collective guilt upon a nation and sending them out into the wilderness as a scapegoat; not because this is a grave falsification of all that has happened in the past, but because of our common duty to work together for the better future we both desire. The gigantic problems which have to be solved for Europe can only be solved, if a solution is still possible, by the co-operation of your people and ours. But how can anyone wish to see people, whose co-operation is more necessary than any others, branded as criminals by others and by themselves? My Lord Archbishop, the question of war guilt is not only a dubious question; it cripples action, thought and good will on every hand. There is, in the last analysis, only one valid question: what were the causes of the war? And who can answer it fully and with complete truthfulness in times when rabid vengeance has been unleashed and everyone is secretly so eager to vindicate himself?

My Lord Archbishop,

I know very well the nature of the "war crimes" laid to the charge of the National Socialist government and its executive organs and organisations, to which our tormented people has been artificially made accessory, quite apart from the special guilt of the Party, because it allowed the Hitler Revolution to be successful. I also know that foreign intelligence services with their modern methods have accumulated what is to-day an almost insuperable mountain of proofs of

guilt against a nation bound hand and foot. And not only this, but many Germans think they have to turn king's evidence for the foreign prosecution, or from motives of revenge or fear, even of morbid desperation, to associate themselves with the various accusations. Nevertheless a new page of history will not be turned by what is a propaganda-inspired falsehood in the sight of God and in the eyes of thoughtful, intelligent and unvindictive people.

The long list of war crimes imputed to the Germans, to say nothing of other violations of the laws, rules and customs of war, begins with the alleged wanton initiation by Hitler of a war of aggression against Poland.

I am familiar with the documents containing the proposals for the return of Danzig, for the right of transit across the Corridor and for a plebiscite in the Corridor when the first proposal was rejected. I know from the evidence of my own eyes the extent of the decay on the Vistula, in West Prussia and in Upper Silesia between 1919 and 1930. I know also the harassed life of many Germans (and Ukrainians) in the places where they were born and in which they worked in that state of subjection to the Poles forced on them in 1919 and 1921. And I have learnt a little, as many Englishmen have also learnt in the intervening years, of the intractability of the Polish character. From the time of Versailles until Hitler we in Germany had repeatedly expected that we should be invaded from the east by the Poles; and sooner or later, with or without Hitler, shots would have been fired spontaneously on this Versailles-created frontier, which divided us like a raw and bleeding wound. I know, to be sure, that there are Germans who hated Hitler who agree that he was all along wickedly determined to launch a war, and that they try to support by hearsay evidence the words that have been put into their mouths. I know, finally, that the psychopath Hitler subsequently, in his excitability, allowed himself to be misled into abandoned talk.

All the same, do you, My Lord Archbishop, yourself believe that the man who wanted to consolidate a National Socialist reformation in Central Europe unleashed a war on the Poles in order, in this roundabout way, to provoke the



British to a declaration of war and so to start a Second World War? I do not think the dead man was stupid enough to play such a trick. I am also convinced that Pilsudski would not have entered into the pact with Great Britain, but would have come to an agreement with Germany on the basis of those interests shared by Germany, Poland and Europe, which since this last war have also become the interests of England: the vital, common necessity to save Europe from an eventual mass permeation by Bolshevism.

Now, as regards the desire for war on the part of the German people, it naturally wanted to be rid of the menace, the fear, the humiliation and the progressive decay in the East, but—for the love of God—without war.

And war with England? I beg Your Grace to ponder this question. Or to ask anyone of your fellow countrymen, who knew Germany honestly and not as Vansittart knew her, the question: where the higher percentage of war-inclined people was to be found in and before 1939, in Great Britain or in Germany? Were the Germans in the Reich more eager to fight the British than the British were to have a show-down with Germany?

This is not by any means the same thing as the determination to be prepared in the event of the direst necessity. We Germans, caught in the grip of the Powers and the profiteers of the Treaty of Versailles, not isolated like Great Britain by the sea, not buttressed by a world of raw materials at our disposal, with no reserves of gold, had—and everyone of us realized this—a very long and painfully uphill road ahead of us if we were to meet the supreme danger; and we knew that if we did not wish to be over-run from one side or the other, as had happened to us in all the past centuries of the Roman-German Empire, we would have to endure a long period of rearmament and planning.

And when the British persisted in their dislike of us the grave necessity for us to be prepared became acute. But in our situation, and after our experiences in the past, our rearmament was a symptom of our immeasurable dread of war; not the desire of German people to go to war.

Perhaps this is the place to say a word about what happened on 23 August, 1939, because upon it the Nuremberg Trials



have tried to establish a case for the liability of the Germans in the eyes of the world. On that day the Führer summoned all the leading officers of the German armed forces to Berchtesgaden by aeroplane. On arrival they were driven by car to his Berghof. There he addressed them twice for two hours. They were informed of his determination to finish with the Polish question. Nothing more was to be gained by delay. The Russian peril, he told them, had meanwhile been scotched by way of negotiation; the Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, was flying to Moscow and would return with a treaty with Russia in his pocket.

The inference drawn by the accusers of Germany from this meeting is that Hitler, and with him the German people, was determined to carry through his war with the whole world; and that the question of Poland's readiness to give eventual satisfaction to the German insistence on a settlement of the Corridor question, or of Great Britain's readiness to induce the Poles to comply with the German demands, was no longer a real issue.

Now is it not remarkable that this meeting should have been, on the one hand, apparently kept secret, and that, on the other hand, it could not possibly have been kept secret deliberately? In the first place, there were the many aeroplanes; then, there was the concourse of motor cars with their occupants whose faces were familiar to everybody all over the country. Is it not therefore more probable that Hitler was trying to bluff Great Britain? In any case it seems more than unlikely that a Führer, on the eve of a war that he had "willed", would have surprised his reluctant generals with a two hour briefing. He would surely not have interrupted his lecture with a long pause for lunch and then continued it for another two hours after the break when every general would be urgently needed at his post. One can plainly detect the bluff intended for the outside world and the pep talk intended for half-hearted generals in case the worst came to the worst.

And if the agreement with Stalin on a division of Poland is brought up as an objection to my guess—and when all is said and done every interpretation of these intricate political manoeuvres is no better than a guess—then I reply that the

German wording of this pact refers only to an eventual agreement: "In the event of . . ."

Now whether or not Hitler really believed that the wound of the eastern frontier of Germany and of Europe, threatened as all the world recognised by unspeakable dangers, could not be healed without recourse to war, one thing remains certain: that the German people had no desire whatsoever to go to war.

The second of the grave charges laid at the door of the German people arises out of the harsh fate which befell so many of the inhabitants of the border states between Germany and England because of the German invasion and occupation of their countries. The Dutch, the Belgians, the Danes and the Norwegians certainly did not want war. This fatality hung over them from the moment Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. They suffered in different degrees, according to whether they joined or let themselves be made the tools of the partisans and secret co-belligerents among our enemies.

I have believed, and I still believe, that by invading and occupying these countries the Reich government tried to forestall England. I have believed, and I still believe, that Great Britain would have had no more scruples than Germany about invading Belgium, Holland and Norway, only that she would have made out a better case and been less clumsy in her methods, but it so happened that Germany owing to her central position on the continent was able to act more quickly. (Lord Hankey's statement furnished the proof of the British government's designs on Norway). This assumption appears to be justified when I remember, for instance, the British bombardment of Copenhagen and the Danish fleet in 1807. No declaration of war preceded this attack; the intention was ostensibly to prevent the possible desertion of Danish ships to Napoleon. And what did England do in Greece during the First World War? And again in the Second World War after France had signed an armistice with Germany; must not the bombing of French towns and battleships be judged by almost similar ethical standards?

I am not trying to make out that two blacks make a white, but I submit this argument for your consideration. And

can one dismiss the other considered opinion, that the Reich government, between the Scylla of Great Britain's openly acknowledged but otherwise senseless determination to annihilate Germany and the Charybdis of the even greater danger of a mass invasion from the east, had no choice, if Europe were to be saved from an imminent general decay, but to put its hopes in an enforced unification of Europe?

I am not defending wrong methods. I merely adduce the arguments of history. Very many cases combine to make history, very many wrong methods and much grave error, and that means much fatality and—very little unequivocal guilt.

My Lord Archbishop, the mission that the National Socialist government failed to accomplish in and for Europe has meanwhile become England's task. Anyone who admits the inevitability of the political war of the nations, that most appalling of human aberrations, must accept into the miserable bargain the transportation of civil populations and forced labour. In South Africa in 1900 I saw Boer women and children taken away from their farms in the Orange Free State and put into concentration camps, with the result that, without any evil intention or evil action on the part of the British, almost seven times more women and children died in these concentration camps than the total number of Boers who fell in the field in the whole of the war. Besides, the Germans know all about the Bolshevik transportations from the Baltic states and the horrible forced labour camps with their millions of victims. Again we both know how long after the armistice at the end of the First World War German prisoners of war were kept as conscripted labourers, and both you and I have access to the international statistics which show that in the First World War not only absolutely, but even relatively, more German prisoners of war died in allied captivity than did allied prisoners of war in Germany. And we both know that a gigantic number of Germans captured in the Second World War are still being kept from their homes to-day in order to do compulsory labour, and that another huge number of German political prisoners has been detained for years, in hunger and cold, without *personal* charge having been proved against them. We know that

these punishment camps do no good and are utterly unnecessary, yet this thing goes on when the hellish wrongness of the camp system is plainly enough acknowledged. There were foreign labourers even in my own country district: Frenchmen, Ukrainians, Poles, some Russians and Italians. I myself employed for a time a Ukrainian woman in voluntary service. I never came across one of them who was ill-treated, even in the last distressful months of the war. Nor did I personally meet any who were refractory, as was the case in other places where some of them became the victims of the concentration camps set up in the days of impending catastrophe, the existence of which very few of us even suspected amid the deluge of bombs and the daily drone of bombers over Germany. Finally, Your Grace has certainly heard that millions of those who were deported from their homes in the course of the war neither wished nor wish to leave Germany and go back to their own countries, because there a much harder lot awaits them.

Perhaps the fourth War Crime—the serial order is of no importance—is said to be the attack on Russia which Hitler ordered. Very many people in Germany disapproved of the war against Russia—there was even strong opposition within the party itself—although the great majority of all the Germans recognized that the greatest peril for any European future lay in Bolshevism. I nowhere met with *anyone* who was in favour of the war with Russia when it broke out in June 1941. I heard only gravely concerned attempts to explain it, and expressions of disapproval.

Those who sought to justify it said: "After the territorial demands in Central Europe made by Molotov on his visit to Berlin in November 1940 and their rejection by Hitler, the Reich's government knew what they had to expect from the Soviet leaders once they had achieved a superiority of military strength. When that happened, in addition to the imminent entry of America into the war, we would have had an attack from the East also, that is to say, in our back."

Others who tried to justify Hitler's action adduced the following additional argument. The war against the Bolsheviks, they contended, may conceal four possible objectives. First, the vital necessity of pushing back Bolshevism from



Europe. Secondly, to win over to our side part of the many foreign races of the east who have been subjected to the Russians and persecuted by the Bolsheviks; and this will be easy so long as we appear to be indisputably victorious and can offer them a greater freedom and prosperity than the Bolsheviks. (This is what actually happened.) Thirdly, to gain for ourselves a source of supply of raw materials and foodstuffs on the continent, in order to enable us to withstand an Anglo-Saxon invasion based on the supply lines of the seven seas, and also to secure new armament factories immune from aerial attack. Fourthly, they argued, there was the possibility that the war would eventually bring about a lasting peace, and even a later friendship with Great Britain on the basis of our restricting our sphere of influence, politically, commercially and economically, to Central Europe and to those eastern countries which were not Russian territory but had been subjugated by the Russians.

Those who disapproved of the war with Russia quoted Bismarck and Ernst Niekisch, the latter of whom was formerly very little known outside Germany, and argued from their own experience of the unchanging superstitious antagonism of Great Britain which they believed could only be countered by an alliance with Russia, irrespective of the Russian form of government. And their final argument was that after the war then raging no nation would have completely escaped the infection of Communism and it might be better, in view of the changing times, to help Russia overcome that disease until a new stage of political health was reached than to launch an attack on Russia, and so weld Russian Bolshevism and Russian nationalism into one.

My Lord Archbishop, if you should think that I have said nothing to weaken the serious charge that Germany launched a preventive war against Soviet Russia, may I ask in what respect this National Socialist war with Russia differs from the two earlier preventive wars which Great Britain started against the German Reich. Great Britain fought these two preventive wars in order to remove the dangers by which she believed herself to be threatened. The British were led to believe that Germany was building a navy in preparation for a war of aggression, but did Germany ever put forward



any pretensions to a scrap of British territory?

As regards the bombing, no one will ever be able to fix the inescapable responsibility for this method of warfare. There are too many different factors which must be taken into consideration. The question would have to be asked: did any Power, did Hitler perhaps, take the initiative in proposing a general ban on the bombing of civilian populations? And with what results? It would further have to be asked: who started the bombing of civilian populations? It would have to be asked, and the answer would have to be proved: where was the worst and most senseless damage done to peaceful people and to irreplaceable cultural monuments, and where has bombing exceeded the strict purpose of bringing about the collapse of the enemy, as was, for instance, the case on that night which we know as the "massacre of Dresden" when a mass of bombs was deliberately rained on the town, crowded with refugees fleeing before the Russians, and hundreds of thousands met their death?

I have not seen the bomb damage in England. Our people in Germany say: compare the destruction here with the destruction done over there, compute the total air raid casualties and the ruin of historical monuments on either side. Our people say: when the Germans overran France which had declared war on Germany, not a single bomb was dropped on Paris. Our people ask: how do you, who accuse the Germans, hope to exonerate the Americans on whose cities not a single German bomb was dropped and whose bombers have cold-bloodedly annihilated so many German cities and villages, so much ancient and venerable culture, and so many hearths and homes?

My Lord Archbishop, here again I am not concerned with balancing the account. What I am concerned with is the *utter wrongness of attributing guilt collectively to a nation or to a community, or to any organization.*

It was just such a false collective accusation of guilt against a whole racial community—and a great part of the German people realized this to their disgust from 1938 onwards—that the prescribed propaganda of the National Socialist Party tried to inculcate in the minds of our people. Without this indoctrinated belief in the collective guilt of the Jews for

the misguided errors of the "White Man", and for all the muddle and confusion of the Germans in particular, there would never have been the gruesome mass-slaughter of the Jews which has been reported and said to have happened in this desperate Second World War. We were aghast when we heard of these wholesale massacres in 1945. Until then, we who lived in the heart of Germany knew of the excesses of 10 November 1938, to which I have already alluded, and there were rumours about the transportation of Jews to the east. The first thing I heard in my village of a slaughter of whole groups of people was in the autumn of 1943 from the Ukrainian woman whom I took into my employment after her arrival from the Crimea. She told the story with such indifference and was so vague when I asked her for exact details of what she had heard that I remained sceptical. I remain sceptical of the figures reported in the "newspapers", but I have no longer any doubt that horrible and unspeakable things were done, over and above the sickening night of 10 November 1938 and the transportations. And so it indeed happened that Germans, spiritually infected by a hysterical propaganda, and others besides, had really come to believe that in taking the law into their own hands they were fulfilling a divinely appointed mission. And did not the Jewish people, in its early history, similarly believe that the will of providence, aye, the will of their God, was expressed in verses 13-16 of Chapter XX of the fifth book of Moses where it is written of an enemy city: "And when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thine hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword . . . But of the cities of these people which the Lord thy God doth give thee for inheritance, thou shalt save nothing that breatheth!" And those Jews in the grey dawn of their history acted in accordance with this commandment. The prophet Samuel tells of it in many chapters of the Old Testament. In book II, chapter 12, verse 31, we read of the conquest of the city of Rabbath of the Ammonites by King David: "And he brought forth the people that were therein, and put them under saws and under harrows of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln: and thus did he unto all the cities of the children of Ammon . . ." Why

do I quote this? I wish to demonstrate that even prophets are prone to human aberrations and human nature is liable to fits of sadism which find vent in the torture of whole peoples even at the present day.

The reasons which gave rise to the early aversion to the Jews in Germany were very similar to those which made the British dislike the peacefully infiltrating Germans. The aversion grew as the Jews increasingly encroached upon, and meddled in, the political, intellectual and spiritual life of the nation. We Germans were very thin-skinned after 1918, and the Jews were dangerously lacking in tact. And so it happened that the muddle-headed, the malicious and the honestly perturbed blamed the Jews collectively instead of individually, with appalling and progressively more unfortunate results.

The consequences of the idea of collective culpability and collective indictment seem to me even worse when persons who are at the end of their tether and politically at sea are required to admit the collective guilt of their nation or their community. This leads not only to an attempted "soul murder" of the tormented prisoner at the bar, but also to the worst blunting of the conscience in the case of those many who now think they can come forward as avengers and judges.

I do not know whether you happen to have seen the remarkable speech of a Tübingen licentiate of theology. This speech demonstrates the difference between collective guilt and the confession of collective guilt before God and between collective guilt and the confession of collective guilt before man. When he speaks of collective guilt as men understand it, that is to say "political guilt", he says more or less: "Such a confession of guilt does not purify. It pharasaically infects the atmosphere." He goes on to say: "In human politics the question of guilt is always used as a tactical means of ensuring a certain elbow-room in dealing with the real or supposed culprits." The charge of collective guilt, with confession as a corollary, in fact opens the door to all kinds of retributory action by the accusers. Having smugly salved their consciences by extracting a confession they apparently imagine themselves justified in giving tit for tat.

My Lord Archbishop, I have not come into contact with the British as invading and occupation troops. My knowledge of them in the Second World War is gleaned entirely from hearsay. In cases where I have been called upon as a linguist to smooth over difficulties and to prevent too stringent an interference with our liberties, more on behalf of my fellow-countrymen than for myself, I have had held up to me the untrustworthiness and the guilt of the Germans—substantiated more by enemy propaganda than by practical experience—as the justification for every measure of severity which, I was told, was no more than a condign punishment. I met with the same regrettable attitude in the licensed German “newspapers”. Individual foreign soldiers with whom I talked had one favourite retort: “How did you Germans behave in France?”, even though they had themselves never been in France. Now my son, who is as sensitive as he is fundamentally decent, served as an officer in France during the long years of the Franco-German armistice, and I rely on his testimony as to our behaviour there. But I am speaking now of the period which followed the cessation of hostilities and of what has happened here during this truce. I am speaking of the vicious effect of the conception of collective guilt, and of the even more vicious effect of the admission of culpability, both on the victors and the vanquished.

The Tübingen theologian I mentioned speaks of the unprofitableness of making us Germans feel our guilt when we knew what was being done to our brothers and sisters in the eastern regions of our country. Certainly we have experienced nothing worse than what is going on at the present time in the east, yet we see other things too, My Lord Archbishop, which are dangerously bad. Do you not think that the clear vision so immensely necessary for us all, British and Germans alike, is being obscured even for you, and the imminence of the gravest and most desperate peril is overlooked because of this thesis of collective guilt, the various and assiduous search for documentary evidence, and bewildered confessions of guilt?

My Lord Archbishop,

I should like to dwell upon one more of the many charges



brought against the Germans. This is the charge of wholesale looting of works of art by which, as I understand, the German people, the Führer and organized National Socialism are apparently to be *collectively* defamed in speech and print. It is in fact averred that we attempted to carry out the most unprecedented looting of all time by the robbery of 24,000 pictures and art treasures. My Lord Archbishop, I bring this up as a creative artist myself, knowing very well that it appears almost trivial in comparison with the charge of human brutality. In the First World War I saw with amazement the reckless way in which the lives of German officers and men were risked to rescue old French art treasures from the flames and to remove them to safe storage places, not in order to appropriate them, but in order to preserve them for France and for European culture. I was in the cathedral of St. Quentin when the salvage work on the stained glass windows had to be abandoned because of the casualties caused by British shell fire among the German salvage crews. I was still in the building when after its evacuation three shells burst in the cathedral. During the Second World War, in many places, specially detailed German officers and men have dutifully performed a similar service, and have lost their lives in carrying out their task. Very many of us know this, and no doubt there are British soldiers and people in England who know it too. We ask with some bitterness what proof exists of deliberate looting, inasmuch as endeavours were made amid falling bombs to rescue art treasures and to put them in a place of safety for posterity. Admittedly in those conditions anyone may be liable to temptation. We ourselves saw others succumb to this temptation when we were the target of the bombs, and furthermore long after the guns were silent and the bombs had ceased to fall. But how is a nation or a people responsible for the delinquency of individuals?

My Lord Archbishop,

You have told us with the best intentions that you "know well the terribly hard conditions that we are suffering; but that we are not alone in that."

"In the days of the war"—these were your words as reported—"your armies brought destruction to your neigh-



bours, and they along with you suffer from the harsh process by which their liberation and yours was achieved. Out of the shattered resources of civilisation, every effort is being made to bring to everyone the necessities of life, friend and foe alike. Believe this first of us in this country, that it is our earnest desire that as rapidly as possible the physical sufferings of all shall be relieved."

My Lord Archbishop,

Among our people, in many ways so bewildered and confused, I have heard *astonishingly* little complaint about the destruction caused by war which Germany has suffered with such paramount severity and of which Your Grace will have been informed. Our reaction to this inordinate, unmitigated devastation from which we have been the sufferers in excess of all other peoples may be said to be one of tearless weeping, or more accurately still of numbness.

But something else was started after the devastation caused by the war which is not the inevitable consequence of "the harsh process of liberation". It was thought up by very different foreign brains as a policy of retribution. From this retribution we are by no means within sight of being relieved. When the sum total of the harm done by it is computed, if the mischief is not checked by some redeeming idea and steps taken to implement it, it will destroy us along with all that we might to-day have to give, both spiritually and materially, as our special contribution to the world and to Great Britain. And this annihilation will not end with *our* destruction. After us, My Lord Archbishop, it will be the turn of the British Empire, the grandest political creation and achievement of the Nordic race, to be destroyed.

It is ten years since I first formulated the proposition: "Every catastrophe for Germany hits England, and every catastrophe for England hits Germany." The truth of this proposition is now beginning to be proved.

My Lord Archbishop,

I shall now briefly refer, in so far as I am at liberty to speak of them, to things which have happened at different times and in different places to individual Germans in the course of the year 1945 and the first months of 1946 and their

implications for all of us, and in the last analysis for you in England also.

In listing them I shall be unable to keep to any proper consecutive order or to attempt any sort of completeness. I could not do that without covering reams of paper and, first and foremost, unless I were permitted *complete freedom of speech*. I will only indicate which way the wind is blowing.

My Lord Archbishop,

I begin with the village in which I live. Its fate can certainly be regarded as typical of the fate of many German villages. Situated on the Weser, my village belongs by a historical accident to the electorate of Hesse and so is part of the American Zone of occupation. The majority of the inhabitants, however, are like the inhabitants of Hanover of Lower Saxon origin. We have no Jews here and consequently the village remained free of anti-Semitism. Although most of the villagers worked in factories, there was no real Marxism either. They were immune from Marxist doctrines because most of them were at the same time small landowners who baked their own bread, grew their own potatoes, milked their own cows, and raised their own pigs and poultry; because they always felt themselves to be primarily peasants and saw hardly any poverty among themselves or others until the First World War. If it had not been for the two World Wars the village would have remained "conservative" in its social life and church worship; conservative less in the Prussian than in the English meaning of the word. They were unsettled by the revolution which ended the First World War and the ensuing disillusionment by the non-fulfilment of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, by the unfortunate over-long retention of our soldiers who had been captured by the French, and by the witch-hunt of our princely families instigated by the big-town hooligans and perverted intellectuals. It was not long before unemployment and city propaganda brought discontent into the village. This unrest lasted until 1930 and appeared ineradicable. About 1930 National Socialism had noticeably spread from South Germany into Lower Saxony. Then, one after another,

quietly, without any great agitation or drum-beating by the local press, those who at all events longed for the restoration of order, and unselfishly wanted settled conditions, began to place their hopes in the new movement and gradually enrolled themselves in the party. When the first local group was formed here it numbered amongst its members the majority of the best and quietest people in the village. And when the party came to power in February 1933, as I have already mentioned, the S.A. marched in uniform to church on Sundays and all showed a mutual helpfulness, a cheerfulness and a healthy political pride such as had not existed in German villages before 1914. This auspicious beginning did not last. The miserable Röhm affair and the raucous propaganda of the big towns made themselves heard and felt in the village, and gave less worthy men an opportunity to come to the fore. Ostensibly for the good of the party private vengeance were slaked and the evil bully was given his way. The conservative element in the local group received no backing from the immediately superior party officers which were found to be run by men in many ways unfit for their positions. Nevertheless the conservative element clung to its faith in the cause which had begun so well, partly believing in Hitler, and partly no doubt self-confident that they, the conservative element, would end by succeeding in weeding out the baser sort and rendering them harmless. The first reorganisation of the local group was in fact carried through between 1937 and 1939. Then the Second World War broke out. Throughout the war there were no shameful or barbarous incidents. The army took all the fit sons, many fathers and not a few grandfathers, and they were replaced by foreign helpers of every sort, mostly Ukrainian women, Frenchmen and Russians. These were quite happy to be here; they were contented and well fed. The streets on a Sunday, filled with the laughter of these foreigners, were like the village streets of peacetime. We were still at war when a new Gauleiter was appointed in the Gau capital who did his part in cleaning up abuses.

At this time there was an increasing influx into the village of Germans who had been rendered homeless by the war. After their reception the prime responsibility for their care, the provision of living quarters, furniture, kitchen utensils and

allotments, devolved upon the local group director (Ortsgruppenleiter), and secondly upon the director of the National Socialist Public Welfare (N.S. Volkswohlfahrt). The local group director, in addition to the usual business, had the duty of informing the next of kin of the deaths of fallen relatives. Both of these men were factory workers; both had been appointed to their honorary posts during the war. Neither of them had anything to do with politics. They went to work every day in the factory where they were employed, and devoted their leisure hours, their free evenings and their Sundays untiringly to the welfare work entrusted to them. I, who was not in sympathy with the party, admired these men.

To cut a long story short, My Lord Archbishop, it was not long after the entry of the allies that practical measures were taken to implement the theory of the collective guilt of all party officials. The director of the National Socialist Public Welfare whose son had been killed in battle in the meantime and who, day in day out, did nothing else but look after the well-being of the evacuees, was taken away to a concentration camp in April 1945. He is still there.<sup>1</sup> The local group director at whose hands nobody had ever experienced anything but help and friendliness, although he was a sick man and his help on the land was urgently needed by his wife and mother, was put in a camp in June 1945. He is still there.<sup>2</sup> An almost sixty year old innkeeper and small farmer who had never in any way been concerned with politics but who for the two years 1942-1944 had had to act as temporary replacement for the local Party treasurer who had been called to the colours until he was drafted himself, was taken away to a camp in November. He is still there.<sup>3</sup> Nine others besides these three men were arrested, and some of them were first thrown into prison and afterwards transferred to concentration camps. Out of all those twelve men only one, to whom I have previously alluded, abused his position as a National Socialist official by acts of brutality towards his fellow-countrymen.

<sup>1</sup> Home since the summer of 1946.

<sup>2</sup> Home since the summer of 1948.

<sup>3</sup> Home since the summer of 1946.



My Lord Archbishop, I have some more to say about the village in which I live. The son of a cousin of mine, with his wife and daughter, are living in my own home. They are refugees from East Prussia where he held a high legal office as judge in Tilsit. East Prussia has been surrendered by the Allies to the Russians. His house in Tilsit was destroyed together with all his belongings. He himself was drafted into the Volkssturm. His wife and children fled to Danzig, and from Danzig to Thüringen, and later in order to escape from the Russians from there to here, making the journey of 125 kilometers from Eisenach to Göttingen on foot. The husband, who had been made a prisoner of war, has now come home. He was one of those idealists who joined the Party somewhat hesitantly in 1934, hoping that the more the decent elements supported it the sooner it would become a force for good. As a result since the promulgation of the general edict of the Allies he is forbidden every employment in the service of the Reich, whether as judge or as barrister. His family, robbed of everything they possessed, receives no pension.

Another story of my village. There is living in the house next to mine a titled widow, a refugee, who occupies one room which she shares with five small children. Her husband is a regular army officer who commanded a division in Italy. Because it is sought to extend the theory of collective guilt to the generals, he is confined to a camp in Italy. The small estate in East Prussia which he inherited from his father is in the hands of the Russians. The titled mother of his wife owned an estate in Pomerania. When she had been robbed of everything and driven from her home by the Poles she found shelter with her daughter until they all, mother, daughter and the latter's five little children, were forced to flee from the Russians to the home of relations not far from Leipzig. As soon as the Soviet troops had occupied Saxony the estate of this relation close to Leipzig was confiscated by the Communists under the so-called Land Reform (a name which has been used ever since the Soviet domination to cover, not only the expropriation of land, but also a general and thorough-going robbery) and the owners, with their fellow-sufferers (the refugee owners of other estates) were dragged off to an internment camp. The intention was to transfer all the



inmates of this camp to the island of Rügen, but my neighbour, with her five children, her mother and her mother's sister, now utterly destitute, succeeded in escaping to the west.

Here is still another story of our village. A few weeks ago the owners of eight small businesses in the village (joiner's and cobbler's shops, saw mills, etc.) were told that they were in future disqualified as employers of labour, and that their shops and property were confiscated because they had been members of the Party. None of the eight men had been actively engaged in politics. The local chemist received a similar notice and was instructed to vacate his shop. In his case the order was however temporarily deferred because of the general stoppage of work at a time when his particular services to the community were urgently needed. The only dentist in the village, on the other hand, was forbidden to continue his practice and his instruments were seized judicially. The man had belonged to the Party, but he had not been politically active either. One day the district medical officer appeared at the house of our village doctor who had been established here for many years, bringing with him the doctor's successor, for whom he was expected to find accommodation under his own roof before handing over to him the practice he had built up for his son. The doctor did what other doctors in neighbouring villages did: he stubbornly refused. As he had only applied for membership of the Party he was more fortunate than the other doctors and lawyers in the district in escaping the consequences of this mischievous order, for which there was no rhyme or reason except a misunderstanding of the original Party and the retributive idea of collective guilt.

My Lord Archbishop, I have said nothing about the sufferings of our village which were and are inevitable consequences of war. I have told you of some of the things that were done in 1945 and in the first months of 1946 as part of the retribution devised by many foreign brains after the war had ended.

To these few instances I must now add the prospect in store for us and for all other German villages in the West in 1946. Our village is overcrowded. It has been upset by the

parcelling-up and redistribution of arable land. We have to expect our share of the millions of men, women and children, who have been expelled from the whole of East Prussia, East Pomerania, Silesia and from all the German provinces handed over by the Allies to the Russians and the Poles, destitute of everything save the small bundle they have been allowed to carry away with them. We await an influx from the inhabitants of the former Austro-German Sudetenland, who have been utterly despoiled (illegally, wickedly and senselessly), and compelled to emigrate by Benes with the connivance of the Allies. In a word, we expect the arrival of all the victims of that despoilation and swindle which has been given ironically the fair-sounding name of Land Reform. We expect these poor people and we know exactly what must become of them and of us, and subsequently of Europe, cooped up in a narrow pocket, denied all opportunities and faced with a redoubled, insolvent hunger.

My Lord Archbishop, I add to the picture drawn from the village in which I live a very few single instances of similar happenings to relatives and acquaintances living in the eastern provinces. My brother-in-law belongs to an old, noble, Lower Saxon family. He owned an estate in the Grenzmark which he developed and improved to a state of productivity. At the outbreak of the Second World War, having been a gentleman rider and a Lieutenant-Colonel, he was put in charge of the registration of horses in Silesia. He moved into his official residence in the German town of Oppeln, taking there part of his furniture. By the decision of the Allies and the surrender of the town to the Poles he lost his estate, his flat and his furniture. My sister-in-law by a rare chance managed to escape from the advancing Russians to the west with a suitcase of clothing. As a staff officer, my sixty-two year old brother-in-law is still detained (in April 1946) in a South German prison camp. His estate, like the other German estates so necessary to the feeding of Central Europe, will be allowed to run to seed by the incompetent Poles. Again, my wife's and my brother-in-law's widowed sister owns a small country property in Mecklenburg, not far from the frontier of the British Zone. She is one of those women you so often

come across in England who seek nothing for themselves and whose life is a constant round of untiring devotion to charitable works. She joined the Party in its early days as a philanthropic duty to set a good example. She filled her tiny house with refugees. She was repeatedly pillaged by the Russians. She now has living with her her children's old governess, an educated woman of forty-three, a refugee from the east where she was driven out of her home, raped by the Russian Bolsheviks and forced to bring into the world a Russian bastard child. A long while ago my sister-in-law sent her own eldest daughter, a young married mother, into the safety of the British Zone to a peasant and has refused to allow her to return home lest she share the same fate. My Lord Archbishop, every one of our relatives in the more eastern parts of Germany, and we have many, has had his or her property looted and confiscated without any compensation and been reduced to beggary in exactly the same way. Hardly any one of them, man or woman, was a member of the Party. But this continued despoliation is not applied only to the nobility, to those whom you call Junkers and to those whom you consider tarred with the brush of Prussianism, nor even only the rich. Here is one example. A short time ago a girl of twenty-five came to us as cook-housekeeper. Her parents had a moderately large peasant farm in the province of Saxony. One evening in October 1945 without any previous warning they were turned out by the German-Russian Bolsheviks. They were given ten minutes to leave and were given permission to take with them one suitcase. This is typical of the usual procedure of the Land Reform, the purpose of which is to set Germans against Germans and to make the countryside ripe for Communism and collective farms because, once the cattle and the agricultural machines have been everywhere removed, the new stolen smallholdings cannot continue to exist by their own efforts for long, to say nothing of the impossibility of supplying the food requirements of the towns from such smallholdings. And this is being done in a time of world food scarcity.

My Lord Archbishop, lest I grow tedious I shall confine myself to recounting two stories more. Some Lower Saxon friends of mine, resident in Berlin, whose names are respected

even in Great Britain, after their house in a suburb of the capital had been gutted by fire escaped, before the intensification of the bombing, to the estate of a friend in Saxony. When the Russians occupied Saxony they left the estate near Freiberg, while their hosts remained in their home. An enquiry after their hosts' fate made last December elicited the following reply—I quote verbatim from the letter :

“The whole family departed this life after the violation of the daughters on the first night. Only the one fine son is alive; he was still in the field. The whole large estate has been confiscated. The thought that we shall never again see these splendid people and their five charming children is infinitely hard for us. In all, fifteen people lost their lives on the estate.”

But you may reply that this incident must be accounted among the consequences of war, whereas I declared my intention to speak only of acts of hatred and revenge perpetrated since the war.

Let me therefore cite, again verbatim, a letter written by an old retired general and landowner. This letter tells a story which has no connection with the natural consequences of war; it appears to confirm the impression of what is going on and has its lesson for all of us in the west, for you, and for the rest of Europe which still remains. The old general's letter was written in the convalescent home in C. on 17 December 1945. These are his words :

“The last act of my life is drawing near. How long shall I still remain in this world? We have been expelled from K. in the name of Land Reform. Between eight and nine on the evening of 30 November, 1945, a police posse appeared at K. and informed us that we had ten minutes to clear out of the three garrets in which we were living. I was laid up in bed with fever. I was forced to get up in the most brutal manner and carried rather than led downstairs, clad in the scantiest attire. I was unable to take anything with me, not even a toothbrush or my spectacles. In the meantime my daughter-in-law had got the children into some clothes, and there we stood, shivering and freezing, outside the gate waiting, under police supervision, for a vehicle to take us away. At last after an hour's wait a little farm tractor came along and the twelve of us were packed into this, without seats or straw, with less consideration than if we had been cattle. And so in the pitch darkness and fog we were driven to the railway station at C. There we were unloaded and herded into the waiting-room which was already chock-a-block with people who had suffered the same fate as ourselves. Here I collapsed, and the police declared me



unfit for transportation. And so I was separated from my dear ones and taken to the fever hospital, although I had no infectious disease. On the following day, 1 December, 1945, I was transferred to this place. As I am utterly destitute I am being kept here at the expense of the Public Welfare. You can imagine what a dreadful existence this is, abandoned as I am by everyone, even treated like a pariah because they are all afraid of compromising themselves by associating with an old general, my family dispersed—I do not even know where in the world—and death before my eyes. It is a sad lot. I am alive and already dead.”

My Lord Archbishop,

In telling you these few stories I have purposely not given the names of people or places, lest I should possibly expose the victims to further persecution. I am willing to provide a list with the exact names for your personal use, for the facts which I have related do not belong to the horror-stories served up to us in the licenced “newspapers”.

My Lord Archbishop,

I have told you about the village in which I live and of the fate of some of my relatives and acquaintances merely as documentary proof of what is now going on. This present barbarity is still in its initial stages, it is fed by misconceived revengefulness and misconceived retaliation, and by a terrible, wilful misunderstanding; and the things that are now being done are in no way the inevitable consequences of war.

Permit me now to add a few comments on what might perhaps be called our present day spiritual world and atmosphere, and on what is taking place in it.

I scarcely believe that you have seen the licensed “newspapers” now printed in German. To me who lived almost fifteen years among Englishmen and was very receptive to English ideas to read through the licensed “newspapers” published in my region and the licensed “newspapers” of the neighbouring region is the most soul-distressing occupation I have ever given my time to. If an Englishman were to glance through a batch of these papers he would say to himself: “Never have I seen anything so completely un-English.” I do not know who is ultimately responsible for the very wrong tone of this “news”, for its suggestions and horrible maliciousness, the ostensible purpose of which is to create that new spirit which is so all-important for the whole world



at this turning-point of civilization and history. You will agree with me that this new spirit might draw its inspiration from the figure of Jesus Christ as made known to us in the Gospel still undistorted by later human passions. With complete freedom from prejudice and with the greatest delicacy this spirit would have to investigate the original causes of political culpability. It must incorruptibly and clearly have the strength to be faithful to the old precept of the poet: *Nicht mitzuhassen, mitzulieben bin ich da*. (I am not there to join in hatred but in love.) It would have to eschew every half-truth and every mental reservation even more, almost, than the total lie. It must, inasmuch as an unwavering reverence belongs to it, set its face against all mockery and scorn of unprotected, tormented and possibly erring brethren, just as, My Lord Archbishop, the English national spirit has long done *within* your own more fortunate nation. But one thing must *not* be in the new spirit, if we are still to realize our dream of a new era—I have already spoken of it—and that is the attempted murder of a fellow-creature's soul, for that may more easily cause his real spiritual death than we have hitherto thought it necessary to believe.

That Jews should have exacted and seek vengeance for the wrongs that may have been done between 1938 and 1945 to defenceless fellow Jews is perfectly understandable to me. I share their feeling that the collective vilification of Jewry by Hitler propaganda was soul-murder to many Jews, and dealt a spiritual death blow to many Jews who were attached to Germany; for there was once a time when Germany was the homeland closest to the best type of Jew, and the *real* intellectuals among them felt themselves more akin in mind to the Germans than to any other nation. I understand that the exaggerated lengths to which Jewish vengeance has gone must be accounted for by more than the influence, to which we are all liable, of stories they hear repeated day after day.

Secondly, I understand that for many inmates of the concentration camps the lifting of the ban of silence and coercion was an opportunity to raise their voices, but as the prisoners and victims of the concentration camps were not uniformly alike and it has not yet been possible in our time to differentiate between them, the declarations of the vocifer-

ferous minority have confused, and given a false impression.

Thirdly, I understand that there are many men and women who have bottled up their anger, and also that there are others whose ambitions were frustrated, and who have bided their time until the coming of the day when they could try again and attempt to get back into the limelight.

Fourthly, I understand the way in which the political propaganda of foreign countries holds to its course. It probably believes it is pursuing the "hygienically" best course where a possible uncertainty in the minds of the people of those countries is beginning to be manifest. One might apply to this propaganda course the judicial maxim: no one shall be expected to testify against himself.

But what possibility of defence has a defeated nation against the gigantic output of the world propaganda machine? Even an individual among the victor nations would have none.

My Lord Archbishop, these four things which I have mentioned contribute to the absence of spiritual comfort, and the sterility we find in the "licensed newspapers" sanctioned for our edification, when we seek to learn something of general events and expectations.

My Lord Archbishop, I will sum up in a few words what is wrong with the way we have been put in the dock. It is the lack of respect first for our feelings as a nation, and then for our feelings as human beings. And without respect there can be no means of differentiating between the clean and the unclean. Or—can it be that it is intended that there shall be no means of differentiation? Have differences and distinctions been obliterated on purpose? Is there a connection between the constantly reiterated clamour for the indiscriminate proscription of all Fascists, regardless of what they believed and hoped for, did and suffered, and the calumny of former officers who were drawn from all classes of the people and who must now seek a livelihood, and the robbery of private property, old cultural possessions and inherited estates cloaked by the so-called Land Reform, and certain irresponsible black lists of writers, and false personal slander, and the despicable way in which the Nuremburg trials are being reported, and finally the appalling forgetfulness on the part of a number of "Germans" that our nation

has lost not only a preventive war but also its greatest, belated war of self-defence, and that millions of Germans have laid down their lives, not perhaps for Hitler, but for their father- and mother-land Germany.

Yes, is there a connection between all these things? Is there a purpose hidden behind the discredit brought upon us?

Yet what could be the reason for a determination and a plan to obliterate the means of differentiating between the notion clean and unclean?

Is it possible that behind it there is a secret design to extirpate the whole German way of life?

My Lord Archbishop,

The British and ourselves and the other peoples of Europe, each and all, learnt at school and have been taught by our different political leaders and teachers that major policies are determined by the question of national frontiers, and that the happiness, the liberty and the honour of individual nationals depend on what their government and cabinets pronounce a necessary and right nationalism. In the view, however, of wide sections of the nations the age of "cabinet nationalism" is past by many years; an entirely different mankind has arisen, and must be understood and integrated before the fine flower of Europe and all its painfully acquired technique are finally overwhelmed and dissipated by a new barbarism of mankind.

By this other totally different mankind I mean the masses which, now that creative minds have discovered for them the opportunities and the security of life, are by virtue of their superior numbers becoming a power factor.

In 1929, in his book *The Revolt of the Masses* (La Rebelión de las Masas) the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset described the general situation in the following words:

"The characteristic of the hour is that the commonplace mind, knowing itself to be commonplace, has the assurance to proclaim the rights of the commonplace and to impose them wherever it will. The mass crushes beneath it everything that is different, everything that is excellent, individual, qualified and select. Anybody who is not like everybody, who does not think like everybody runs the risk of being eliminated. And it is clear, of course, that this "everybody" is not "everybody". "Everybody" was normally

the complex unity of the mass and the divergent, specialized minorities. Nowadays, "everybody" is the mass alone. Here we have the formidable fact of our times, described without any concealment of the brutality of its features."<sup>1</sup>

This new mankind, the mass everywhere uprising to pre-dominance, is incapable of leading itself; it has hitherto let itself be led by glib, professional politicians and incited to hostile action against every and any group which the demagogy of its leaders could expose and make suspect to the envy of the masses by reason of its greater wealth and superior knowledge.

Until 1945 in Great Britain and the British Empire there was very little awareness of this new mass-mankind and its potential danger, and considerable reluctance to believe in it. Even to-day there appears to be no clear recognition of what is happening and its implications for Europe and for the "white man"—whichever name you prefer.

Two circumstances have kept Great Britain from recognizing this phenomenon: the isolated situation of the mother-country and the dominions, and the limitless opportunities open to the politically restless Briton because of the wonderful construction and the vast area of the British Empire which have prevented him from becoming a revolutionary demagogue. In addition to these two circumstances one must not overlook the old British doctrine of foreign policy, that no one state should be allowed to become preponderantly powerful and that any Power showing signs of preponderance must be regarded and pilloried by every British government as enemy No. 1, a doctrine which between 1895 and 1945 contributed to the Englishman's fatal superstitious fear of the German Reich.

When in 1937, gravely concerned for Germany and Great Britain and disgusted by the uncheckable and progressive "self-assertion of the commonplace," I toured Britain and Germany delivering the lecture I called *Englische Rede* in which I tried to demonstrate that the world's problem had long ceased to be one of nationalism, as it was still called in an obsolete phraseology, but that the question was whether the world should be led and ruled by the mass instead of by

<sup>1</sup> Authorised translation from the Spanish, published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1932.



the qualified, excellent and select, I was completely misunderstood both in England and Scotland, and on occasions even in Germany. In England my audiences apparently thought that what I was saying was much the same thing as what they had been led to believe of National Socialism, namely that it regarded the Germans as a specially qualified, excellent and selected race, and that therefore I was a travelling prophet of the claim of the Germans to be the master race, when I contrasted mass-mindedness with excellence.

Of course, I did not for one moment think anything so stupid, nor for that matter was the original National Socialism obsessed by such foolishness either. The original National Socialism was primarily concerned with discovering the causes of German and European deterioration which showed itself symptomatically already in 1910 and patently after 1918. It demanded a conscious race cultivation. It had nothing whatever to do, at the outset, with racial arrogance or even with anti-Semitism, as I have already said. It began with the understanding that with the triumph of mass-mindedness and vulgarity under the leadership of demagogues every kind of excellence would be hampered and ultimately strangled. For that reason it set its face against mass-levelling so that, before it was too late, the way might be cleared for a revival of excellence in Europe, and thus it became the mortal enemy of communism.

When the leader of National Socialism, in an attempt to gain political authority more speedily, began to seek the support of the masses, sometimes against his better judgment, National Socialism itself very largely fell a prey to mass-mindedness and to the tyranny of the commonplace, and furnished a tragic proof of the danger which the insurgence of the masses was for Europe.

My Lord Archbishop,

When in the spring and summer weeks of 1945 our homely valley, with the peace of our woods, meadows and streams, our streets, houses and beds invaded and disturbed, was no longer recognizable as our honest homeland, so teeming was it with foreigners and their noisy coming and going and their harsh commands, I told myself and those who came to me for



comfort: "There will be one result of this lost mistaken war now that we have been eliminated as a state: the British superstitious fear of us will at last be dispelled; willy-nilly, the Englishman will realize what has long been and will long be at stake for Europe, and above all for England. The Englishman will perceive that the great Nordic creation, the British Empire, with its Pax Britannica, has not been made any more secure by the destruction of the German Reich. He will see—and it will not be a pleasant surprise—that for more than a thousand years the German Reich has held the rampart of Europe against the East. He will find the rampart and even the inner wall destroyed by his own British policy. He will grasp that willy-nilly he must take up his post in the breach, not perhaps in defence of Germany, but to protect the British Empire. It will dawn upon him that he has far too long been swayed by the comfortable nationalist ideas of his governments, and that meanwhile the quite different danger of the insurgence of the masses under the leadership of demagogues has loomed incredibly nearer; and that this danger, now that the mass and communism and sovietism have been amalgamated in Russia, offers an external threat also to Great Britain as a nation, more serious than any in her past history. He will moreover discover that the strongest armament will be of little avail against this new kind of internal and external political menace.

"The Englishman will then be faced with the same problem which confronted the German Reich in 1918; the same problem the early National Socialism, from 1933 onwards, struggled to solve by enthusiasm, and wrong methods, handicapped by the prompt hostility of the outside world. It is possible that the Englishman will solve the problem, always assuming that he is not too slow to grasp its significance for the future of Europe and Great Britain (for the future of the "white man".) The possibility of a solution partly depends on what Germany is turned into in the meanwhile, on the decision she arrives at or is driven to adopt in her extremity."

That the English may succeed in finding the solution is the heart-felt wish of those Germans among us who are still tolerably stout-hearted and who have not been altered by ill-treatment and misfortune. Great Britain to-day is the last

bastion of excellence. Without excellence there would be no British Empire, without excellence there would never be a Germany again, not the kind of Germany which was and is made illustrious by Beethoven and Goethe and Bach and Luther and Dürer and all the great doctors, inventors and thinkers; benefactors of a whole world.

If England's days are numbered, then Germany will never rise again, and if Germany is done for, then Great Britain is done for too, even though it still continues to exist in the atlas of the world.

My Lord Archbishop,

You will not suppose that I advocate at this late hour a League of "Haves" against the "Have nots" or an Alliance of heirs against the disinherited, whether the possessions of the "Haves" or the inheritance of the heirs be of a spiritual or a material nature. I appeal for the protection of the select minority and for the conditions essential to its survival. I appeal for the protection of great thought and invention; I appeal for the protection of great capacity, for the defence of what you and we call humanism, for the preservation of which the nations must enjoy lasting physical and spiritual health; for the select minority is the product of the whole community. The discoveries of the select minority first made it possible—I repeat this—for the masses to rise and to attempt to seize political power.

It is not now a question of holding back, or even of suppressing the many for the benefit of the few, but it is vital that the necessary few and the conditions essential to their survival should not one day be swamped by ignorance, demogogy and commonplace vulgarity, with the help of dilettante politics and an acquired technology; that, however, is what Europe is heading for, in the view of those who no longer deceive themselves or allow themselves to be deceived.

My Lord Archbishop,

When I spoke of the spiritual atmosphere we Germans have to breathe to-day, I asked the question: whence comes the present determined plan to confuse our judgment? I answer it now. The determination and the plan originated with the organized insurgence of the masses. It is being furthered from

the East. It makes germ-carriers and disseminators of those who, out of rancour, hatred and the desire to pay off old scores, no longer know what they are doing and who in their strange compulsion to extirpate everything that is thoroughly German in its essence are at the same time contriving their own destruction.

My Lord Archbishop,

In your address to the German people this is what you said, as we read it in print—I summarize your message:

“You Germans and we British must work together with other nations to write a new chapter of history. What will your contribution be? That will depend on the spirit in which you face the present day and those to come, the faith which must guide you. The world is dominated by insecurity and fear, fear of want, fear of one another, fear of atomic energy. Fear besets mankind and bedevils everything. But just because you are for the time powerless as a nation, because you have to make a fresh start, you can, you must choose your ground of faith.”

My Lord Archbishop, it may well be that by the word faith Your Grace meant us to understand the Christian faith; but the vast majority of all Germans—never mind about Hitler—have clung to the Christian faith up to the present day. What a remarkably large number of Germans (apart from the ever-present nihilists, fanatics and the indifferent) strove after was not to get rid of the gospel and the gospel ethic and the gospel doctrine of love and reverence, but was, is, and will be, until it is finally achieved, a conscious fulfilment here on earth of the gospel teaching after almost two thousand years of half-fulfilment.

You surely do not believe—any more than we believed of the measures Hitler had recourse to in desperation and growing insanity—that the robbery of the eastern part of an already too small Germany and the reduction to beggary of its millions of refugees, or the wanton and wicked despoliation of the Sudetenlander and the Bohemians by Beneš, or the continued licence given to a propaganda directed against us in which truth and lies are so devilishly blended, have anything whatever to do with the Christian faith?

If, however, by faith you mean the political creed on which those Germans who have not yet sunk into apathy based their

hopes of the future, then two answers must be given immediately. Both are transitional. Whatever the ultimate decision will be it will depend—irrespective of the German choice—on how Great Britain decides.

First and foremost, then: we know that the German Reich has been beaten to her knees by a superior might more completely than any nation in history. This superior might was built by the common effort of governments whose antitheses were less reconcilable than the real and fancied and artificial antithesis between any one of Germany's major enemies and Germany. Her enemies made common cause on the mere assumption that they detested and were ready to fight against what was incomprehensibly evil, and hardly less against what was and remains incomprehensibly good in the eternally protestant German character. They did not make common cause only to fight the indubitable evil of Hitlerism, an evil which had its origin in a common extremity; the hatred which united them against us began much earlier and was directed against the rightful skill and the rightful knowledge of the Germans and against the claims which Germany with her skill and her knowledge—certainly belatedly—thought she was entitled to make or which you judged her likely to put forward at some future date.

Bolshevist politicians and all the demagogues of communism and the insurgence of the masses, unblushingly and to this very day, call this fortuitously allied superior might the alliance of "Freedom-loving Peoples". The bolshevized Russian Empire is then one of these Freedom-loving Peoples although the very same things, for which *we* are now being vindictively requited by incessant punishments and execrations, are going on continually behind an iron curtain, not as a measure of necessity, but out of cold-blooded rationalism. I cite, as one of many English sources, the words of the *Fornightly Review*, Vol. DCC, 1943, about the Bolshevist labour camps and their victims.

Every thinking German is constantly reminded of the inner contradiction in the essential nature of our conquerors, whose homogeneity we were told is "indivisible"; and that fact has meanwhile very seriously diminished the respect which our strange people have for any foreign victory, even when



it is won against themselves. If Bolshevism had disappeared with Hitlerism it would be a different story.

But we have to adapt ourselves to what is, soberly and without judging the motives of our enemies. And again we discover that the four victorious Powers who hold the decision over our fate, the Americans, the British, the French and the Russians, despite many things it is impossible to speak of here, are to all appearances by and large, and ignoring individual cases, nowhere really hated.

As regards the Americans what perplexes us most deeply, and will continue to perplex us, is the question how we, of all people, have from Wilson onwards incurred the enmity of the United States. From time to time American soldiers who have considered this question after having made acquaintance with our country and our people, and come to know us through the evidence of their own eyes and ears, instead of from hearsay, let their own astonishment escape them, blurred and distorted as is the picture we present to them. Moreover, the Germans in the American Zone are glad they have not to live in the French Zone, not to mention the Russian Zone. Now when those of us who have not yet become apathetic and whose eyes are not specially focussed on the East—from motives of mass-allegiance or of personal political ambition or of any fanatical hope—when we consider the American factor as it is likely to affect the future of Europe, it seems to us that the United States will, sooner or later, cease to regard the tutelage of Europe, and even of Germany, as a matter of vital importance. Whether the mass-man under the leadership of the demagogue will be victorious and the select-man extirpated on the continent of the Old World, the one paramount question for Europe, one cannot help thinking, must be regarded over there as a curious academic question, far-reaching as the consequences would be inevitably even to America. As, however, there is otherwise nothing to be got or gained over here, whereas at home internal political problems are likely to become more complicated, the day may suddenly arrive when the Americans will lose their inclination to spend further effort and money on a broken Germany.

The French attitude towards us caused us no surprise. The

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the beginning of the nineteenth century were for us a sequence of invasions by the French. In my valley in the upper reaches of the Weser, and so far distant from the frontier, the French were in the eighteenth century the last dreaded soldiers before the Americans of 1945. At that time the British still defended the Weser woodlands side by side with the Germans against the French. The French politicians were the worst sinners against us at Versailles. The French reluctantly declared war on us in 1939, and would never have done so without pressure from Great Britain. The German High Command conducted the war with France, so we believed and many Frenchmen have corroborated this belief, with great humanity. It was won quickly in spite of the necessary dissipation of the German forces. In the armistice terms the Germans made no unnecessary demands. The many French prisoners of war, wherever I came across them, were well treated and got on well with us. When the tide turned and the French entered Germany with the British and the Americans as occupation troops, in material things they showed themselves far more difficult than, say, the Americans; where matters of principle were at stake, on the other hand, they were more easy-going and on occasions even more magnanimous. There are a great many Germans who have asserted that once frontier politics are no longer a bone of contention a Franco-German co-operation is perfectly possible. There is only one thing that probably nobody believes, and that is that France would be able to save "Europe" and "humanism" for a better and more splendid future. And what is of greater moment?

The future fate of Europe and of European humanism has been placed in the hand of Great Britain or of Russia. Of that all Germans who have not yet become apathetic are convinced. Before the final die is cast—final in man's acceptance of the word—the important thing will be whether the Germans tip the scale in either direction or whether they sink further into that torpor which is gaining hold of them.

Permit me, My Lord Archbishop, to say a few words to the British about the Russians, and the German attitude to the Russians at the present time (1945-1946). By the Russians I mean the Russian Bolsheviks. Inherently Russia and Bolshe-

vism—this is surely patent to everybody—are no more synonymous or correlative than are Germany and Hitlerism. They have therefore neither the same meaning nor the same connotation.

The secret hope in Bolshevik Russia—this has already been said—first gained significance in the German Reich after the dictated peace of Versailles. Many German nationalists, holding various political views, were at one in thinking that we had been made the victims of western capitalism and of a loud, but very insincere and alien liberalism. They believed that the strangle-hold of the West, with all its consequences for the internal development of Germany, could only be met and shaken off with the aid of the East. The first to hold this opinion was Count Brockdorf-Rantzau, who “walked out” of Versailles and refused to sign the treaty. He found many important adherents among officers of the Reichswehr. The forlorn hope of the nationalists in salvation from Russia was responsible for German co-operation in the rearmament and industrialization of Russia. The best known exponent of this conviction was Ernst Niekisch who rapidly won a large following among the desperate older German Youth. In his passion for German-Russian ideas and in his hatred of Versailles Niekisch committed formal high treason, and was gagged and imprisoned by National Socialism. But, over and above a part of the officers and men recruited in Russia in the so-called German Army of Liberation, there are indignant and by no means negligible adherents in Germany who even to-day (1945-46) still cherish Niekisch’s aims.

The convinced German communists follow another road, and have another object in view. They have no desire to free Germany from the West and from a compromise with the West by the help of Bolshevik Russia, but they insist that the Germans should join in the advance of the masses which, under Bolshevik leadership, is taking place from East to West to help bring about the total victory of the international proletariat. These ideological communists are not very numerous in Germany. They have, however, a sheep-like following made up of two kinds of people who are always to be found wherever there is a prospect of personal gain, of loot and the replacement of personal loss, without the risk

of punishment. The one flock is composed of would-be demagogues who expect to find in the exercise of their gift of the gab an occupation more agreeable than irksome manual labour; the other pack consists of those human jackals who hope for safe and unconscionable pickings from the "Land Reform" or some other form of despoliation, even if it be no more than the robbery and division of jewelry, clothes, plate and furniture stolen from the temporarily ownerless property of the victims of "appropriation".

But there is another category amongst the Germans who must be reckoned the auxiliaries of Bolshevism, besides the fanatics of such various origin, of such various beliefs and having such various aims. These are the dazed and apathetic. In these broken creatures the soul-murder, still being perpetrated against the German people by a thoughtless propaganda long after our defeat, has crushed their personal powers of resistance as it has crushed the national power of self-defence. These broken creatures think, more or less, like this: "For us everything is finished. All the British and the Americans want is to grind us under foot. The future lies with Communism and Bolshevism. The worst it can do to us is to kill us bodily as well, but in the long run it will also destroy the Americans and the British along with us."

Those who think in this way gaze blankly into space. Mumblingly they repeat the hideous tale of rape in Berlin where sixty to eighty per cent of the women population are said to have been violated by the mass-men from the East. Perhaps they add: "We were once human beings . . ."

They no longer grasp that the world nevertheless goes on. Perhaps they do not even feel that they themselves might be avenged and vindicated only by the general material and spiritual downfall of Europe.

My Lord Archbishop, I now come to speak of England, and of the opinion of England held by the unquestionable majority of Germans in 1945-1946. All who belong to this majority are still unanimous in believing that Great Britain and Germany have for the last fifty years caused each other unnecessary harm at a time when, had they been united, they might have successfully evolved a way of life satisfactory both



to the masses and the select minority, and so brought happiness to the world. As to the mistakes which the Germans and their governments should have avoided in their dealings with Great Britain, individual opinions are at variance.

Anyone who has lived outside Germany and seen with his own eyes the ominous, agonizing growth of the Anglo-German misunderstanding which began with the inflammatory articles in the *Saturday Review* and the Jameson Raid naturally sees things in a different light from those German stay-at-homes whose opinions are based on books, newspapers, parliamentary speeches, radio talks, propaganda and occasional travel talks in loquacious company.

You said in your message to the Germans: "The last act of a play does not alter a single word of the preceding acts; but by its character it may change their significance, showing how the gathering forces of evil are checked and subdued by the final triumph of good."

When applied to the relations between the British and the Germans the expression "last act" does not seem quite right in this otherwise apt analogy.

The stupendous drama which is being played out ought surely to be entitled: *The White Man and Humanism*. The tragedy falls into two parts, the first of which will one day be called "England and Germany", and the second "Europe". The curtain has fallen on Part I. We do not yet know whether the two protagonists, England and Germany, will achieve their purification, their catharsis. The denouement of the tragedy *The White Man and Humanism* depends, however, on a general purification within the 'Old World'. The second part of the tragedy, the part entitled "Europe", may point the way to a better future for mankind if both protagonists are able to free themselves of the influence of subjective propaganda, and recognize *all the causes* of the vicissitudes of the drama in their objective truth. On the other hand, the second part of the tragedy may set the seal on the unworthy trend of the time if dirty politics, with their open and hidden propaganda and their wretched, glib persuasiveness, continue to succeed in obscuring the *causes* of Europe's progressive collapse.

My Lord Archbishop, I, for my own part, wish to believe, difficult as it is for a German in present circumstances, that we and you stand at the beginning of a road that may still lead to better and higher things. As a German of the old educated class and as a European 'humanist'—I cannot renounce my two birthrights—I want also, as I have long been instrumental in doing, to spread the knowledge of all that is best in the character of the Englishman and to inspire confidence in it, because the character of the Englishman, which at the same time, of course, represents the character of the English gentleman, is a living thing, even if it too often seems to us to be stifled by credulous beliefs and bad political leadership.

I shall admit to my compatriots that we have no doubt lost our 'state' and that a third of our intensely cultivated and age-old German soil has been taken from us, not as a measure of need, but in wilful destruction, and that millions of Germans have been torn from their homes and gardens, their land and their parents' grave, and robbed of everything they possessed from their father's picture, their bed and their overcoat to their watch and pen, and that this has happened since the end of the war. I shall tell them: "Twenty-five million fellow-Germans now (1945-1946) wander homeless, roaming the country in search of one another. We are utterly defenceless against the charges and imputations brought against us. We cannot protect ourselves in any real sense of the word. Our enemies allow us to open our mouths only in so far as they decide it is permissible.

We must accept the fact that for decades to come we shall be banned from the intellectual world as pariahs; a treatment which we, the intellectuals among us, brought up on the *Critique of Pure Reason*, must feel as a vicious hypocrisy. But we must accept it in God's name wherever we meet with it. We cannot even wait with quiet confidence for the day when our German case-history shall be rightly presented in all particulars."

But, having said this much, I shall go on: "This fearful sacrifice we are making, without knowing or understanding why just *we* should be the victims, may nevertheless be the first step towards the salvation of Europe, that is, if Great

Britain with this last chance to make up her mind perceives the trend of events, and if she decides to act."

And I shall insist: "However much it may cost you, you must never let go of the hope of making friends with England; you must never let that hope be quenched even by the British themselves. No nation remains unaffected by the changes of policy it undergoes, the British as little as ourselves. And you must not rake up the past except in order to discover all the causes, and by recognizing them to find out all the explanations. You must not let yourselves be paralyzed by the horror and bewilderment of to-day. No one can undo what has been done and no one can change a day of tribulation in the midst of it. But the most important thing is the necessary and possible shaping of the future. You who are young will be living in that future, and you who are old have never wanted to lay the foundations for anything save a better future for your children."

"It is true", I shall say, "that the Englishman has failed to understand us till now; he has not had to face the same problems we have to face. But it is also true that we have failed to make ourselves understandable to the Englishman; we have not even succeeded in making Germans completely understand one another. Perhaps the fault lies in our language. Perhaps our mighty language is too difficult and too rich in shades of meaning."

I shall then read aloud to my fellow-Germans this passage from the short leading article in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, written as far back as 1943: "...it is England's task to preserve Europe, for a Europe that is not a community of free nations, big and small, is not Europe at all. This is not merely an ideal task—it is the condition of her own survival. In an immediate sense she and her Empire have survived, for they were twice saved—in the Battle of Britain and in the Battle of Stalingrad. But the survival of Europe is in doubt. And as long as it remains in doubt, the peace will not have been won, no matter what may have happened on the battlefield. And as long as the survival of Europe is in doubt, her own ultimate survival is in doubt. The issue, therefore, that has begun to transcend all others is not England, not Germany, not Russia but Europe."

I shall add: "This *first* recognition of the issue was set down in black and white in 1943 when thinking Englishmen and the British government still judged Germany and Europe through the jaundiced eyes of two Germanophobes, the Permanent Secretaries of the British Foreign Office, Eyre Crowe and Vansittart, and in the light of reports from diplomats and agents. They were influenced by the innumerable tales carried to England and coloured by irritation, dislike and cold hatred, instead of by a first-hand acquaintance with the facts. Yet in the short time since those words were written the picture has been transformed. In the war, which the British government thought it necessary to fight for England and for Europe against Hitlerism, National Socialism and Germany, Germany has been defeated; and Hitlerism and National Socialism, the one utterly, the other formally, wiped out, and the British along the Elbe and in the mountains of the Hartz and of Thuringia no more stand face to face with Germans, or even Russians, but with a secretly organized Bolshevism, consisting of Bolsheviks of Russian and Asiatic origin and a few communists of German origin. The situation may be described in a nutshell in other words. One might say: England has relieved Germany at the post of greatest danger to Germany (and to Europe). That danger Germany has tried to remove for the last fifty years. She could not hope to succeed without more elbow-room and a freer field of action, and so she was forced to seek more space to strengthen her defences. By so doing she became a bogey to Great Britain. Another simile might visualise the situation even more clearly. One might say: the old dam in the east which Prussian-Germany and Hapsburg-Germany held, almost unnoticed by the world, for centuries guarding themselves, and Europe, and also England, has been inundated by the flood, and now the last inner dykes in Central Europe are manned by Englishmen".

I shall then be silent for awhile and try to read my listeners' thoughts. Since 1934 so much must have gone on in German minds that never found expression. But what use is speech when it evokes no response from brain or heart and is met by blank indifference and the callous acceptance of defencelessness?



After awhile, having looked and listened, presumably in vain, I shall continue: "I know that most of you are sceptical. How could it be otherwise? We, both you and I, have had to bear too much in the last thirty-five years, and those thirty-five years were preceded by another fifteen years of unrest and vague expectations. We have listened to too many fine promises and prophecies. No fine promise or prophecy has been fulfilled by deeds in which we Germans could have detected even a particle of good, if only as gratitude, if you like, for what Röntgen with his X-rays, Sertürner with his morphine, Schleich with his local anaesthesia, and Koch with the discovery of tubercular bacilli—these everyday things happen to occur to me—did for almost every human being and for those near and dear to them. We want, however, to remain objective and unemotional. If the British leave the Elbe and the inner dyke of Central Europe, then the rising tide of the masses will flow in after them, first as far as the Dutch frontier, and then advancing farther and farther on the heels of the British. Making dishonesty legal, and the recognition of the new "right" to steal land, houses, money and property are both more infectious than the plague; and far more infectious even than the excuse for the mandarinism we were subjected to under Hitler is the barefaced excuse for the new, ostensibly "freedom-loving" mandarinism of communism. And if the tide of the masses surges forward and the British retire, then in the Germany of the future there will be no more Röntgens, Kochs, Schleichs and Sertürners, nor Dürers, Beethovens, Goethes, Schopenhauers and Brothers Grimm, for the vital air and the soil which nourish all that is meant by excellence and the spirit of creation will cease to be."

It is likely that at about this point a number of my listeners might begin to be restive, and that through a murmur of disapproval my ears might catch some such words as these: "After the hornet's nest that England has stirred up for us and for herself, one thing is certain—the stubborn Anglomania of so many Germans is a thing of the past!" It is also not improbable that the murmur might grow into a more and more insistent demand that I should declare my personal position.

I should finally reply: "The words anglomania and anglo-

phobia have both been used as sticks to beat me with by one person or another at a time when it still seemed that an improvement in human relationships could and must be achieved by the old style nationalism, what I call the "nationalism of the cabinets". But nothing can any longer be achieved by the old style nationalism between us and the British, nor for that matter between us and the French, even though the French may go on believing so. Surely we do not want to pay off old scores with England by helping forward the insurgence of the masses at the cost of the disappearance of the select German minority which has set us Germans apart and enabled us to help our fellow men? No, I repudiate the idea of revenge on England, and, not less, the idea that Germany should tie herself to England's apron-strings. The hope of the twenties, most strongly represented by Niekisch, that we Germans with the aid of the East could exorcize from Europe the Western spirit, and Versailles along with it, has melted away and has become nothing but an infinitely dangerous day-dream. But that other merely selfish pro-British attitude—just because we are better off in the British Zone and feel safer there than in the other occupied zones—does not please me either. We however need to understand clearly that the future of Europe, in the sense of a renaissance of human high endeavour, can be saved only by England's vision, no longer clouded by a superstitious fear of Germany. And for the performance of her European task, the nature of which she certainly did not foresee, England must swallow the difficult pill of recognizing that, without the trust of Germany and without the determined will of the Germans, she cannot alone, or even with her past and present allies, master the task of making Europe once again the continent of human excellence.

My Lord Archbishop, let me as an illustration interpolate here for you and for my fellow-countrymen an excerpt from Charles Morgan's book *The Fountain*. The book was written between the two world wars. The heroine of the book is an Englishwoman married to a Prussian count and officer. Incurably wounded, the Prussian joins his English wife in Holland. He replies to one of her questions in the following words:

"It is not of England or France or Germany I am thinking. Not of this war or another; they are all put away from me. But of an aristocracy of mankind that has the will and courage to rule, to breed a tradition and preserve it. Revenge on England? I do not think in those terms. The flower of the two great peoples of the world have choked each other; that is all. We shall pay for it. The great peoples will be ruled by their own degenerates. But some day, if civilization does not perish, the world will begin to think again."

Even the fictional Prussian into whose mouth the English author put those words was not thinking of reaction, of a dead inheritance and undeserved privilege, when he used the word aristocracy. He saw with the eyes of a wholly educated, loving and decent man, and of a man in the shadow of death, the nature of the calamity brought upon Europe by the dilettante policy of an outworn form of nationalism. This dilettante policy overlooked the fact that there had long ceased to be any reason for the retention of frontiers; that a struggle of far greater moment was in progress between the restless mass, kept in a state of agitation and befuddled by the talk of demagogues, and the forces of the elite, rare and sensitive, but in the last analysis serving and elevating all.

My Lord Archbishop,

At the beginning of this open letter I tried to present to you the causes of the political events of which we Germans have been the storm centre as I have experienced them as a deeply anxious wanderer between Germany and England over fifty years. In the middle of this letter I spoke of the grave political events in which I have been involved as they affected me. I shall conclude by attempting to draw your attention to the spirit in which the Germans approach the task of the present and the future; or better, the road faith would have us follow.

I said that there were two immediate answers to be given, both admittedly transitional, because the German will no longer influence the ultimate decision. That will depend on the decision of Great Britain.

The first answer I gave was this: the majority of the Germans still look to you, because they realise that it is only through England that the last chance of preserving what, in

the best and highest sense, we still call Europe can be seized. The second answer is this: a strong German minority is ready to join the general European insurrection of the masses under Bolshevik-Communist leadership and to help carry through a complete transformation of Europe. This German minority claims that it has the support of the genuine German communists by conviction and the pseudo-communists who are out for what they can get; and, secondly, of the small group of last-ditch German nationalists who place revenge on the West for the humiliation of the Fatherland before any other clearly considered objective.

I added that among broken-spirited and apathetic Germans there is an alarmingly growing number of listless auxiliaries of that minority. These Germans have certainly no direct desire for a revolution. Fatalistically and in sheer desperation they accept the total collapse of Europe and the total victory of Communism and Sovietism as inevitable; they have lost faith in England and in Europe along with all hopes for themselves and for Germany.

My Lord Archbishop, if no change of heart takes place in America and Great Britain, if the past and present dilettantism is allowed to continue, the last danger will gather among the broken-spirited, apathetic Germans. The rapid accretion of the hopeless and the despairing will have quite suddenly changed the majority who still stand by England and Europe into a—declining—minority. Already an ugly and ominous catch-phrase has become popular among the majority which still pins its hopes to England. The phrase one has heard more frequently every day for the last few months is this: "When all is said and done, all they want is to ruin us."

My Lord Archbishop, for as long as I can remember I have had more faith in England than in any other nation, but that the spirit and the internal political unity of the British Empire or even of America would stand firm against the assault of the Eastern and European masses, *including* a German majority, I no longer believe.

As the face of this modern age is slowly revealed to us, it appears to me that everything turns on this: apathy and debilitation among the Germans must not be further aggravated by "soul-murder", but it must be stopped by the



recognition of what it is leading to, and by measures appropriate to this recognition.

My Lord Archbishop,

In his very sensible book *Conditions of Peace* the English Professor Edward H. Carr writes as follows:

“Part of the problem of undoing an abnormal history is to restore the self-respect and inner integrity of the victim of that history. This cannot be achieved by propaganda, and still less by force. The satirical German couplet:

Und möchts't Du nicht mein Bruder sein,  
So schlag ich Dir den Schädel ein,

has been frequently, and not inaptly, quoted to describe Nazi policy towards some weaker countries. It is essential that the same description should not be applicable to British policy towards defeated Germany at the end of the war.”

Debilitation and apathy have, however, spread seriously in Germany because the defeated Germans have not been offered a chance “to restore their inner integrity”. It may be of course that genuine inner integrity and the traditional ‘policy’ are not compatible.

How, for example, if there were a complete integrity, would a spectacular trial be possible in which certain prosecuting counsel try to lash with the whip of their tongue the very things which their own state-leaders are continually doing and permitting in the sight of all the world, and during which, against all good old British and German practice, the licensed press is allowed to calumniate daily the defenceless prisoners at the bar and to bring in a verdict of guilty in anticipation of the court?

How can one think the propaganda comment with which the German people are drenched by the licensed newspapers, even in the British Zone, compatible with inner integrity?

How can there be an inner integrity when our disposition is poisoned by Laws 53 and 8, and most of all by the practical definition, published in German, of the so-called Law for the Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism, which, on the one hand, keeps our minds poisoned, and on the other hand must make hypocrites of a large number of decent, but perhaps not very strong-minded people through fear of bringing a still greater distress upon their wives and children and themselves?

My Lord Archbishop, procure a copy of the Law for the Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism, and for the sake of the future read it with English eyes and with the assumptions that every true Englishman takes for granted. You will admit that this law, even if its title did not contain the lie of militarism, can only have a hardening and ruinous effect. The gist of this law is that, after all the harm suffered in varyingly horrible degrees by every German without a single exception, people can in addition be torn from their special work and occupation to the general detriment, and, again to the general detriment, can be ruined by their political opponents; and that the already harrassed lives of these people and their whole families can be still further embittered, solely because they professed a creed, once in very many cases honourable, and *retrospectively* pronounced wrong. Where, in God's name, is this law compatible with Christianity?

Politically, however, this is the situation in a nutshell: With every German who is proletarianized and becomes accustomed to the proletarian outlook Great Britain creates for herself, and Europe creates for herself, a potential enemy of a better future, an enemy with whom no weapons or atom bomb can cope. For the tormented, broken-spirited and apathetic Germans of to-day will to-morrow, out of a sense of accumulated injustice, envy and hatred, even in sheer panic, march with the organized mass and attach to this mass some kind of desperate hope.

I have quoted the Englishman Carr where, from his correct assessment of Germany, he has spoken of the consequences of the impoverishment of Central Europe. He mentions Keynes's warning:

"If we aim deliberately at the impoverishment of Central Europe, vengeance, I dare predict, will not limp. Nothing can then delay for very long that final civil war between the forces of reaction and the despairing convulsions of revolution, before which the horrors of the late German war will fade into nothing, and which will destroy, whoever is victor, the civilization and progress of our generation. The German dilemma can be resolved, not by destroying Germany, or by diminishing her, but by making her a partner in a larger unit in which Great Britain will also have her place."

My Lord Archbishop, I do not assert, nor do I believe, that England, to use Keynes's expression "aims deliberately at the impoverishment of Central Europe". England has only done what the Vansittarts and those who believed in the German myth were already demanding before the war. She has permitted the destruction of the Prussians, the last bulwark of Europe against the East. She has permitted the material ruin of the nobility, the so-called Junkers, by the illegal parcelling-out of their estates. Industry has been expropriated and the captains of industry have been arrested and put in the dock. As if that was not enough, the old German bunglers of 1918-1933 have been allowed to revive their obsolete quarrels. Nothing has been done anywhere to deal with the question of *real causes*. Judgment, judgment in every sense, has been left to those who sought revenge. My Lord, let him who is guilty of the sins of brutality, vileness and double-dealing be punished—whoever he may be and to whatever nation he belong. But with every punishment the old legal maxim must be upheld: *ne bis in idem*. There is a *hubris* even in judgment, and it always begins where the judge thinks it his duty to exact revenge and retribution, or where unconsciously revenge and retribution lurk at the back of his mind. In Germany there are many unappointed judges. Gleefully they have thought up the most various measures of punishment against *the same* persons because they were National Socialists. These numerous self-appointed and self-avenging judges do not recognise the constituent elements of National Socialism. They lack every qualification for a balanced discrimination between good and evil, clean and unclean.

My Lord Archbishop,

I have dared, in laying these arguments before you, to refute the propagandists of the war and the end of the war, because I know that the propaganda and the punitive measures it has inspired and still perpetuates are based on falsely apprehended premises. The real premises for the dangers which threaten Great Britain and Europe and the white man, and the real premises for the distress of our present unhappy Germany, are not to be found in Fascism or in National

Socialism, or even in Hitlerism or the slaughter of the Jews or in the especial horrors of the concentration camps.

All these aberrations which culminated in insanity and crimes are *symptoms* in the prodigious struggle of the half-instructed masses, led and organized by loud-mouthed and upstart politicians, against European humanism, and against the aristocracy of mind and character essential to it.

I have dared to assert, My Lord, that at the outset National Socialism, though not the later Hitlerism, stood at the side of this aristocracy and excellence was its primary aim, but when Hitler—driven into a corner—bolstered up his political authority by appealing to the masses the movement fell a prey to the mass and their Bolshevist methods.

I know, besides, that thousands, aye millions, of Germans cherished no desire for war. The German's peculiar delight in uniforms, strange when you think of our incessant protestantism, was a result of Germany's spatial confinement; it did not exist, for example, in any one of our sea ports, and had no connection with war. One could never apply the English word "exaltation" to our people's attitude to war. Constantly in danger owing to our central position in Europe, our people thought seriously of war, as an "endurance".

Or can an Englishman who, differently from Vansittart, knows Germany in his heart believe that German mothers and German women do not love, above all else, their sons, their husbands and their homes?

My Lord Archbishop, I have to expect that some Englishmen, hearing my explanations, might at once be affronted and estranged, and that others might misunderstand them. That is why I have called them daring. I must of course fervently desire that my apologia will reach you and other broad-minded Englishmen, and not be tossed aside because of some irritating expression or clumsiness of mine.

Finally, friends of mine to whom I have spoken of my intention to write this letter have objected that any criticism by me of ecclesiastical matters would make you disinclined to hear me out. I replied that my own experience has shown me that the Church of England, beginning with its social achievements, has become in a quite peculiar way part and parcel of the life of the community and is in touch with



realities, unlike our various German churches; and that this knowledge has given me courage to be frank.

My Lord Archbishop,

In concluding the first part of this open letter addressed to you, from which I have omitted so much that wrings my heart and which nevertheless has become so voluminous, I owe you an answer to the question how, in the opinion of many Germans who have long kept free of any party, a new chapter of history might be written by the British, ourselves and other nations, a chapter which, if God will, might once again bring in a new era.

My Lord Archbishop, many years ago the philosopher Nietzsche complained: "... thanks to the morbid estrangement between the peoples of Europe for which the lunacy of nationalism has been and is responsible, and thanks also to the short-sighted and hasty-handed politicians who by its help are now at the top and in no wise suspect how very little the disruptive policy they pursue is necessary, except to an interim policy,—thanks to all this the plainest signs that Europe wishes to be one will now be overlooked, or else wilfully and mendaciously misread."

Nietzsche seems to me to be wrong in putting the chief blame for the checking and the painfully slow development of European unification on the lunacy of nationalism instead of on the "short-sighted and hasty-handed politicians" alone, for the facts are that the separation of the nations, the policy that always drives a new wedge between them, has nowhere been the doing of the peoples themselves, but has always been contrived by the "short-sighted and hasty-handed politicians". And if, as it says in a clever German book, "work and the joy of living are demolished for 'economic' reasons, the perpetuation of a bad policy is demanded for 'political' reasons, a state of coma created out of power-mania for 'strategic' reasons", this aftermath of the war is not the doing of the British, the Germans, the French, the Italians or the Russians, but of people who have seized the opportunity to usurp the management of their peoples and their states.

My Lord Archbishop, to those among us Germans who have not abandoned the almost desperate hope for the people

of Europe, that is to say for a new ascendancy of what is best in the German, British and French way of life, despite the incessant "soul-murder" perpetrated vindictively and malignantly, the situation appears to have become more ripe, historically, for the unification of Europe than it is ever likely to be again. In all human calculation we may never again have such an opportunity, even if after a still more terrible distress a quite different unification on the lowest and most barren level is ultimately achieved.

Certainly individual nations still have at the helm—perhaps almost more than formerly—the kind of people who are professionally diligent in inoculating the political disease of a distorted nationalism and intent upon making it chronic, because this political disease has given them their pre-eminence and their living, and they think in this way they can keep them.

Yet to-day (1945-1946) none of these people can any longer hoodwink the world by conjuring up a national danger. Nor can they any longer hold out to their adherents an immediate prospect of loot. On the other hand, as soon as a stop has been put to the official calumnation of Germany and the peoples of Central Europe have come to their senses, they will realize that by sowing the seeds of nihilism in Germany they will only land themselves in worse troubles of their own for which there will be no help save in the resurrection of the German spirit of enterprise and of German readiness to fulfil her mission in Europe.

A new situation has also arisen for Great Britain—I repeat what I have already said: in Germany Great Britain finds herself forced to bear a responsibility which, as revealed in a memorable statement by the minister Mr. Hynd in the House of Commons, she had originally no intention to accept. Great Britain's defence line, instead of the chalk cliffs of the British Isles, must be the plains of Germany. Unwittingly she has become entangled in the game of intrigue of the middle continent, and to the confusion of all previously held British ideas the barrenness and the cheapness of the "short-sighted and hasty-handed politicians" has been exposed. These politicians cannot now turn against England in the same way as they turned against Germany whose task Great

Britain has taken over. I need hardly explain why this is so. It is now a simple fact that unless she wishes herself to go under—and one can foresee how long it will be before this might happen—every non-Sovietized government in Central, Western and Southern Europe needs England. This means, in other words, that every nation, except perhaps the French, realizes that to-day Europe is preserved by the might of Great Britain.

My Lord Archbishop, I know that, in addition to the bogey-man myth, the British cherish another mental picture of the Germans. It conceives us as a dangerously unpolitical species living in a romantic dream-world of abstract speculation. By dream-world is understood a world governed by theories and guesses, sometimes profound and sometimes imbecile, which never, though, point the way to any concrete reality or else, at best, lead us desperately astray.

And if Eugen Diesel wrote in his book *Vom Verhängnis der Völker*, published in 1934, this sentence: "The idiotic indulgence in a policy which cannot help driving the present-day Europe to its destruction appears to be only a transition to the time when men will give up playing politics for the sake of a loftier policy", I am sure this key-word still sounds to British ears like a prophecy out of the German dream-world and therefore no more than the "Reverse of a Utopia", the actual sub-title of Eugen Diesel's book.

And, of course too, what Englishman would call for a "unification of Europe", if what had happened and is happening to Germany were happening to *his* country, if, say, a third of his fellow-Englishmen were being hounded across country as beggars stripped of everything they possessed, and if more than a third of his already too narrow motherland, together with all its ponderable and imponderable historical and cultural heritage and achievement, had been impiously promised to other races?

No, the present German call for the unification of Europe does indeed sound like a call from a dream-world. It also sounds uncannily like a piece of typically German candour, or—as the Vansittarts would no doubt scornfully call it, simply a specious lie.

But what does victorious England want and offer, and

what does victorious America want and offer, out of their habitual "realism" at this time when the fate of Europe hangs in the balance?

Victorious England and America, to whom we are still most closely akin in blood and character, and also by national predilection, demand from us confessions of guilt and a kind of cordial endorsement of the superabundance of "punishments" inflicted on us and a disregard of all the causes of European misdevelopment save only such causes as can be ascribed to German wickedness. They demand, in short, the indiscriminate condemnation of everything which can be brought under the heading not only of Hitlerism and National Socialism, but also—and only in our case—of wicked "nationalism" and wicked "militarism". At the same time Great Britain and America offer us democracy, or rather, as at the moment (1945-1946) German freedom of speech is not permitted, a future democratic development along British and American lines.

But are not such demands and offers equally the product of a dream-world, of a realism which may be partially valid elsewhere, but is *not* valid for Central Europe?

For what is really happening in Central Europe and in Germany? The real facts are that Bolshevism—which by its own admission is striving for a very different world—is established on the Elbe, in Mecklenburg, in the Mark and in Thüringen, backed by the guns of the Soviets, and is there daily carrying through more Bolshevik measures. The real facts are that the eastern regions of Germany by whose agriculture Central Europe used to be fed, that is to say, the granary of Germany, have been surrendered into foreign hands, economically as unreliable as they are inefficient, as part of the loot which comprises all German private property and all ancient culture. The real facts are that the majority of the German people in the West, that is those who have not still to fight to get into it, are coralled in an insufficient space where the factories are largely crippled or destroyed, and the arable and pasture land is utterly inadequate. The real facts are that three million East Germans who were not immigrants but had been settled in Bohemia throughout the centuries as a part of the Austrian Empire, have been ex-



pelled from there at the instigation of the Czech Beneš, and not even into other Austrian provinces, but into West Germany.

My Lord Archbishop, the idea of equality of rights within a nation originated in the young United States of North America and in the unlimited natural opportunities for every working and planning citizen of the States. The idea came to America from France, and the French Revolution made it a general aspiration of all nations. Because of the economic opportunities within the British Empire, with its vast area, England was able to realize the idea without the dissolution of its ancient system. In Germany the idea of democracy has always remained only half-attainable, owing to the lack of space in which the Germans could expand without being a nuisance to some other nation or else treading on one another's toes. But how is Germany supposed to become a democracy in the British, American or French sense when the measures enforced from outside leave us Germans with only one right and condition, the right to become proletarians under coercion?

What does this mean? It means that for us the legacy of the First World War, the first revolution of 1918, the Treaty of Versailles, the contamination of our liberal cities and towns by the depravity and paganism of the years 1918-1932, the dementia of Hitlerism, the Second World War, the bombing war, the invasion and the "soul-murder" that followed hard upon its heels, are being consummated by the demolition of the last foundations of Europe. But along with these crumbling foundations of Europe the whole foundations of European humanism are disappearing. For our civilisation is based on the principles of respect for personal property, human life, religious liberty, freedom to think, speak, write and inquire; or unrestricted opportunity at least for those who are intellectually gifted above the average; and finally of the right of the intellectuals alone to determine the working conditions of the intellectuals, and that they should not be subjected to the majority vote of a political constructed electorate, i.e. the mass and the political windbags to whom the mass has delegated its authority.

My Lord Archbishop, a democracy which is not a natural

growth proceeding from unrestricted opportunity for every individual citizen, and which places the people's right to govern itself not in the hands of qualified professionals with special knowledge and training, but in the hands of political windbags, will not freshly invigorate "humanism" in Germany nor will it breathe new life into the civilisation of Europe. Nor would the real and great task of the time be achieved by a blaze of old style church religious faith, for hitherto the churches have always and everywhere effaced themselves whenever the politicians have pressed forward with their mechanized politics.

In his wise book *Conditions of Peace* which some Englishmen apparently think is "not in tune with the times and actual developments", Carr makes a very true remark about the possible helpful leadership of the Christian church. He says:

"It is not inconceivable that the new leadership for which the world craves may arise from within the Christian church. But this hypothesis appears to presuppose a transformation of Christianity, or a revival of its primitive spirit, which would in itself amount to a revolution. Those who believe that a return to Christianity is the clue to our problems must face the task of re-creating Christianity before they can use it as a foundation on which to rebuild the world. 'If the Christian spirit is to exert a controlling influence on these modern developments', a wise Christian thinker has said, 'it can only be by means of new thoughts which have not yet been thought, by fresh insights and conceptions that are still waiting to be born'."

But must the churches and denominations go on believing that Almighty God needs them for Heaven, for the Beyond, for the life after death? Is not such an almost presumptuous belief on the one hand the postulate for the claim to sovereignty in mundane affairs put forward by the church, and on the other hand is it not the reason for the church's declaration that it is not concerned with transient earthly matters?

Does not, however, the most devout service of God begin with the humble *earthly* care of souls, with attention to the real cares and longings of individuals of whom the nations are composed? And is not God's primary purpose for mankind a life here on earth in which man's soul may find contentment?

My Lord Archbishop, where in the world does any nation spontaneously pursue a policy prescribed for it by its politicians?

The individual citizens of every nation want it to be possible for themselves and their children to become, completely and without hindrance, whatever their natural gifts destine them to be; that is, that they shall in no way be hampered in their healthy earthly advancement except by their own laziness and lack of natural aptitude.

The individual wants to use his mother tongue, in his home, in the house of God and in the courts of law; and that it shall be preserved by proper instruction.

The individual wants his rights unconditionally guaranteed by the state whose subject he is, and, at the same time, an unquestionably incorrupt civil service.

Finally, the individual wants those things which he himself secretly and modestly reveres to be respected.

On the other hand, the individual citizens of the nations want no shifting of frontiers, no armaments, and quite positively no impious expulsions and confiscations; they do not cudgel their brains to think up new police regulations, more stringent judicial penalties or possible prohibitions and formalities.

In a word, the desire of the individual citizen of every nation is conditions which may best be summed up by the maxim: "Live and let live." In the course of human development these conditions have come to include, of course, more elbow-room, space which cannot be parcelled out by professional politicians according to their whims and passions, or fenced in and made inaccessible so that the politicians may keep their jobs as warders and watchmen.

When in 1929 the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset published his book *La Rebelión de las Masas* he wrote the following:

"Europe's long and splendid past has brought it to a new stage of existence where everything has increased; but, at the same time, the institutions surviving from that past are dwarfed and have become an obstacle to expansion. Europe has been built up in the form of small nations. In a way the idea and the sentiment of nationality have been her most characteristic invention. And

now she finds herself obliged to out-grow herself. This is the outline of the enormous drama to be staged in the coming years . . .”

In another passage, speaking of the economic decadence of Europe in the light of the indications of the time, he writes :

“Is it the case that the Germans or the English do not feel themselves to-day capable of producing more and better things than ever? Nothing of the kind; and it is most important that we investigate the real state of mind of Germany or England in the sphere of economics. And it is curious to discover that their undoubted depressed state arises not from the fact that they feel themselves more capable than ever, they run up against certain fatal barriers which prevent them from carrying into effect what is quite within their power. Those fatal frontiers of the actual economics of Germany, England, France, are the political frontiers of the respective states. The real difficulty, then, has its roots, not in this or that economic problem which may present itself, but in the fact that the form of public life in which the economic capabilities should develop themselves is altogether inadequate to the magnitude of these latter. To my mind, the feeling of shrinkage, of impotency, which undoubtedly lies heavy on the vitality of Europe in these times is nourished on that disproportion between the great potentialities of Europe and the form of political organization within which they have to act. The impulse to tackle questions of grave urgency is as vigorous as it has ever been, but it is trammelled in the tiny cages in which it is imprisoned, in the relatively small nations into which up to the present Europe has been organized. The pessimism, the depression, which to-day weighs down the continental mind is similar to that of the bird of widely-spreading wings which, on stretching them out for flight, beats against the bars of its cage . . .”

My Lord Archbishop, I can well imagine that to many a citizen of Great Britain whose ideas on the momentous questions of to-day have been formed only by the superstitious suspicion of Germany, the war psychosis, and the condemnation of every sort of fascist tyranny, the unification of Europe must seem either an imposition on Great Britain or a matter of indifference or a remote wishful dream.

Such average Englishmen would probably explain that they keep their eyes fixed on the Empire, that they are interested in the strengthening of the Empire and its British peace, that, first and last, the other is the concern of “foreigners”, and for that very reason a doubtful project.



This line of thought is unquestionably encouraged in the minds of stay-at-home Britons by the tales which still reach them about Germany, and also by what is kept from them for "political" reasons. It is, therefore, easy for them to believe that the all-important question of the hour is, after the extermination of fascism, a rigorously punitive attitude to National Socialism, the causes of which they have never seriously taken the trouble to discover any more than they have bothered about its difference from Hitlerism. They think that all that matters is the exaction of reparation for the crimes committed against the Jews, and for the misery and torture of some thousands who were kept in concentration camps, and the prevention of similar occurrences in the future—whereby the present-day (1945-1946) penal camps are forgotten—and, needless to add, the complete military and economic disarmament of Germany on land and sea.

My Lord Archbishop, the danger of such an outlook grows greater with every passing day because this mental attitude ignores the natural development of things which means the fate in store for us all. The march of time will not be halted. Europe has been in labour, ever since the elimination of its dynastic systems, to produce the fruit of its craving for unification. Only one thing remains to be decided: who shall *qualitatively* bring about this unification? Shall it be carried through by the successive select minorities of the nations and under the guidance of their best available thinkers and idealists, or by the mass which, obeying its alternating political demagogic masters, will have no truck with the elite?

There is no doubt that Hitler, that untutored man, rightly divined what was politically at stake in every country of Europe. His early friendliness to England, long before he had any reason to expect an accession to political power, is not the last or the worst proof of this. His curse was that he was not self-sufficient, that he found no help to steer him right, and that Great Britain and the British politicians misunderstood him and Germany. As a result, in the fight against the mass he himself succumbed to the mass and to a personal demagogic insanity.

The German-Austrian was unfitted to his task and the

Lord smote him in His wrath. But the fact that Hitler gambled and lost, and that in his downfall he dragged our people with him, does not alter in the very least the tremendous general question. All that has now been decided is that the problem could not be solved by Hitler's methods, and furthermore that the Germans were not strong enough to solve it when Great Britain and America came in on the other side.

The struggle on which the fate of humanity depends goes on without a respite. The issue will really be decided when either the God-gifted or else the masses under wordspinners and tyrants accomplish the unification of Europe and govern it.

My Lord Archbishop, I do not think there is any need to describe the situation any more precisely, even if I were at liberty to do so. Nor do I think that a diagnostician, especially when he belongs to the "defeated", has any call to recommend prescriptions.

Only the much-favoured English maxim—"Most things in this world are accomplished by judicious leaving alone"—is utterly invalid for the prevailing crisis of history and civilisation which we are living through, the nature of which is everywhere so mightily misunderstood. But there is a burning need for the emergence of an Englishman able to rid himself of professional politics and the rotten old nationalism of the cabinets—which does not mean that he must rid himself of patriotism and national pride—who shall keep his eyes wide open for causes and effects, and perceiving them will not hesitate to speak out fearlessly.

My Lord Archbishop, I have said what I had to say on behalf of my people in reply to Your Grace's message of November 1945, as spokesman of those among us who somberly ponder our predicament. May my voice have been strong enough to make you feel that I have endeavoured, no less, to speak for what I have always found admirable in England and, whatever may befall, shall continue to admire until my dying day.

## II.

1947 - 1948.

My Lord Archbishop,

WHEN I wrote *finis*, more than two years ago, to what is now the first part of this book, a secret hope still glowed beneath the ashes of an all but intolerable sorrow at the afflictions of my people. The old irrational demand—that Germany be wiped out, was satisfied, yet was obviously of no benefit to any nation. In consequence it might have been expected that the superstitious fear and suspicion of the Germans which has prevailed since 1895 would presently be seen to be outworn and derelict, and that at last the time would be ripe for the birth of Europe, hitherto prevented by nothing save the wrong-headed and self-interested politics of the various state governments.

Then, one hoped, the upstart self-seekers, the doctrinaires, the careerists, traffickers and propagandists of the governments and parties would abdicate, and in their stead uninhibited and prudent experts and thinkers drawn from all nations would at last give us all our common opportunity.

My Lord Archbishop,

In cherishing this hope I was not dreaming of a Pan-Europe of cosmopolitan and international intellectuals, a Pan-Europe without roots and biological ties, but I hoped rather that after the final bankruptcy of the old international world ranged against protestant Germany, with its indoctrinated and indiscriminate cry of "Crucify her", Germans and Celts and Latins and Slavs would be able to develop their several ways of life and leisure, and thus with their full and

unimpaired energies nourished by the cultivation of their racial origins might serve the new commonwealth of Europe.

My Lord Archbishop,

Through all the time when German corpses were daily floating down the Oder by the thousand, when we were only beginning to learn the story of the holocaust of Dresden in all its fearful details, when tens of thousands of Germans, men, women and children, were being shot down by low-flying aircraft as they fled before the Russians in the meadows along the Elbe, when the Nuremberg trials were announced, when the expropriation of German patents first began, when the malady of confining human beings in prison camps was becoming an epidemic, when millions of Germans were being robbed not only of their ancestral homes but even of their personal belongings, while the Bolsheviks ruled in Central Europe, I dared in my heart of hearts to believe that after this tragic reckoning Europe would be reborn, and that before the sands had run out we should be surprised to find that the cynical words of George Bernard Shaw had lost their pregnancy. The words were,

“The world scraps its obsolete steam engines and dynamos; but it won’t scrap its old prejudices and its old moralities, and its old religions and its old political constitutions. What’s the result? In machinery it does very well; but in morals and religion and politics it is working at a loss that brings it nearer to bankruptcy every year.”

Major Barbara. Act 3.

My Lord Archbishop,

It was not easy, in the face of what was then happening in our beloved and defenceless German Länder, for a German to look to Europe with steadfast eyes.

What have been the obstacles for the last hundred and fifty years to the realization of that Europe to which men of humanistic culture of every nation felt they belonged, since the days of the Renaissance?

The growing obstacles have been an artificial state-nationalism, an adulterated socialism, and an ostensible liberalism together with an ostensible democracy; all things, one might say, apparently right in themselves but which have led Europe grievously astray.



I will put this another way, more easy to grasp and more precise.

When, contrary to nature, thanks to the inventiveness of civilisation the strong and the weak alike attained and were guaranteed the means of existence, when far and wide the masses arose, when in place of character, knowledge, achievement, industry, health, origin and breeding the multitude gained an increasingly brutal significance through numbers, the human species known as politicians or party orators sprang up like weeds after the rain. They set in motion the new machinery of mass propaganda, sometimes, let us presume, with good intentions, at others with crooked and evil purpose, in order to make themselves the initial digit before the greatest possible number of mass noughts, and by inflating this number by the glibness and reverberation of their preaching to decide the course of events, thereby setting men at one another's throats and robbing them more and more of equality.

My Lord Archbishop, I recently came across an article in a South American periodical written by Karl Heinrich Waggerl, the son of a Gastein carpenter, who in a career reminiscent of the United States was in turn liftboy, newspaper seller, mountain guide in Styria and school-teacher. In the First World War he drained the bitter cup of enemy captivity, being held as a prisoner of war till 1920, and afterwards when Burgomaster of Wagrain near Salzburg began to write, proving his creative ability by his novel *Brot* ("Bread.") In the article that author asked the world the following question: "How is it possible that so many people, scholars, doctors, technicians, artists, ceaselessly and successfully labour to make existence more tolerable while a small number of otherwise insignificant men manage to spoil everything again?" Waggerl wrote: "There has never been a statesman, a politician—as the name is understood to-day in the age of mass proliferation—whose name would even have a place in the encyclopedia if his fame were founded on what he had actually done for the happiness and progress of mankind. The best that can be said of the best of them is that he did not hinder the creative forces of his time." And Waggerl goes on to ask: "Who really are the arrogant and power-greedy men who sit at banquets in defiance of all the

hungry of the world? Are these men demigods who decide our destiny according to earthly laws? Are their tasks substantially more difficult than those which we have to perform every day according to the simple rules of decency, of honesty, and of sound common sense?"

My Lord Archbishop, almost at the same time as I read that article by the Styrian villager Wagge! the Munich *Neue Zeitung*, which styles itself "an American newspaper for the German people" and is one of the organs of our "re-education", printed some political dicta, written, a century and a quarter ago, by the great and internationally famous French novelist Balzac. There I read these words from Balzac's pen: "Politics as we habitually practice them compel the forces of humanity to range themselves in opposition in order to smother each other, instead of making the best use of them to the same end and letting them work together for some purpose. To look no further than Europe: from Caesar to Constantine, from the little Constantine to the great Attila, from the Huns to Charlemagne, from him to Leo X, from Leo X to Philip II, from Philip II to Louis XIV, from Venice to England, from England to Napoleon, from Napoleon again to England, I find no unity in politics and continual procrastination has led to no progress."

My Lord Archbishop,

You are an Englishman, you and your people are still living in the semblance of a victory, you still have the comfort of the geographical insularity of your country and the special European task of the British Empire in the world will for awhile survive even a squandered and ruined Europe. You will nevertheless agree with the observation that the ideals and aims which intellectual Europeans have slowly elaborated have been depreciated owing to the abuse of them, first and foremost, by politics and propaganda. And you will, with such reservations as are bound to linger in the mind of an Englishman, endorse the question: Can the great intellectual peoples of Europe who once built up those ideas and systems by their thinking and their "power" find the way out to a renaissance, or are they destined to capitulate to the forces of dissolution?

We Europeans have seen—this must be mentioned here—three great attempts to find a solution made during the last thirty years in the way of power politics.

Two of these attempts were wrecked by their amalgamation with national controversial questions, by their precipitancy, by wrong and unsound methods, by the inability to make them explicit and by the powerful superiority of those who opposed them and were disturbed by them.

The earliest attempt to start afresh is still unexhausted. The Second World War has further intensified the efficacy of its power politics. This first attempt was and is Bolshevism. It was and is closely amalgamated with state-national controversial questions; it has also suffered from precipitancy, and from wrong and unsound methods. From the very beginning Bolshevism showed itself the avowed enemy of European humanism and also of what you, My Lord, as Primate of the Church of England, would call the inalienable tenets of Christianity. It has caused much shedding of blood and men's souls and bodies have been, and are being, bent and broken by it as never before by any movement or revolution in the history of the world. Yet to the propagandists and the manufacturers of opinion of the world it seemed at first distant and remote and inasmuch as the attempt was going forward apparently far away and as, despite the murder of the Czar, the stifled screams of its victims were inaudible and, in so far as they penetrated the deadening curtain of distance, awakened no echoes, the abominable enforcement of its creed was carried through behind a screen. Even one of the highest dignitaries of the Church of England, Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, wrote in his book about the Soviet Union published in November, 1939, what he thought a proper description of Bolshevism as seen through the eyes of a visitor to Russia. Of his book the Communist Party in the province of Bavaria was allowed to publish extracts in August 1945, the time of the greatest paper shortage. The English Dean of Canterbury says in this book:

"... The Soviet people are actuated, in the major operations of life, by a moral purpose which I could wish with all my heart was consciously our own. They are working for a common good that seems to me essentially Christian in its morality, however much they may deny the fact. They are learning in practice that the reality

of life lies in community, and their accepted principles for the advance to a better order of society, to a wider community of persons, seem to me to be rightly chosen."

(“The Socialist Sixth of the World” 1939)

The second attempt to make a fresh start in the way of power politics was Italian Fascism. It was bound up in the strongest possible way with questions of national economic distress and subsequently with a controversial nationalism. Fascism believed it had recognized the fact that the urgent needs of a nation could not be satisfied so long as the volatile and excitable masses were kept in a state of agitation by soap-box incompetents. The Fascist attempt miscarried when the sacrifices outweighed the material gain and glory.

The third attempt to make a fresh start in the way of power politics is the German National Socialism. I have already conveyed to you in the main part of this book what I have to say about this National Socialism, which would never have established itself in a truly democratic way—as it did—without the British superstitious fear and suspicion of Germany and without Versailles; and without them the friendly German people would never have allowed it to develop into the hideous caricature of its original conception which is known as Hitlerism. Thanks to the procrastination of peace we Germans are still (1947-1948) denied free speech. If one day this right is restored to us, then many a settled opinion about National Socialism, and even about Hitler, will be modified both inside and outside Germany. Even so, black will not appear as white, but causes of what was evil in National Socialism will ineffaceably show through the overlay of propaganda, and belatedly the existent passionate craving for a general European renaissance will be revealed; and above all the grotesque charge that Germany planned the political domination of the world will be removed. And then, with much shaking of heads, circulation will be given to marginal notes on our time like those of that proficient commentator Harold Nicolson, published in *The Spectator* of 7 December, 1945. He then wrote:

“I have frequently been asked why, having been a fierce opponent of the appeasement of Hitler, I should advocate the appeasement of the U.S.S.R. My explanation is as follows. I regarded Nazi ambitions as unlimited and aimed at the eventual subjugation of



this country; I regard Soviet ambition as exorbitant but not unlimited. Being determinists they believe that war between Russia and the West is one day inevitable, and they are taking all precautions while the going is good, but as I do not regard such a war as inevitable, and in fact believe it to be most improbable, I conceive it to be a wise policy to eschew all indignation and to practise understanding, sympathy and patience."

My Lord Archbishop,

I do not need to remind you that attempts to make a fresh start have also been made in Great Britain. Had these been implemented by power politics it would never have come to a second clash between Germany and Great Britain. There would have been no Second World War. And National Socialism, I dare say, would not here and there have left the rails in its desperate extremity and become as it to some extent became, what is understood in Great Britain by the false generalisation "Hitlerism".

The two attempts at a national and at the same time a human renaissance made in Great Britain in the years between the two World Wars were the very earnest and friendly Mystery movement, and the so-called Fascist movement.

The friendly Mystery Movement was persuaded that it could not pit itself against the tremendous propaganda machinery of the Parties. The new way of life must first be fostered, so they believed, in private coteries in which everyone was a good Englishman, in which everyone was deeply devoted to the idea of the monarchy, in which everyone was free from all class prejudice and regarded his fellow-members as helpful compatriot-brothers, and in which the political misrepresentation of affairs in Britain, and also in the relations between Great Britain and Germany, was exposed and utterly repudiated.

The Fascist Movement may possibly have been damaged by its name and the current stories of what Fascism was doing on the continent which were repeated in Great Britain. From my own personal observation and from conversations in which I took part when I was in England, British Fascism did not seem to me to be in any way opposed to free manhood. What Fascism pre-eminently was trying to do, as it seemed to me, was to reassert the true will of the British people, instead of the will of the befuddled masses, and to encourage

a genuine popular instruction about their own affairs by transforming the party system into a free parliament of the realm in which all political oratory would be backed by expert knowledge and expert ability.

Now after the Second World War the Fascist Movement has become the Union Movement. What significance it has in Great Britain to-day we do not know. We only know that the man at the head of this movement, Oswald Mosley, was detained during the war, together with numerous other British Fascist leaders without charge or trial (under regulation 18B) in a British prison, in exactly the same way as political prisoners were detained in concentration camps in Hitler's Germany. As may be expected of an Englishman he has not been embittered, from what we hear, by his imprisonment against his people, his system of government or its leaders, but has partly modified, and partly deepened his convictions. And in one or two manifestos which have reached us like a breath of air in a stifling world I read the following sentences:

"We were divided and we are conquered. That is the tragic epitaph of two war generations. These words should adorn the graves of the youth of Europe. That was the fate of my generation in 1914, and that was the doom of a new generation of young soldiers in 1939... Our creed was brought to the dust because the Fascist outlook in each land was too National... We (Europeans) love our countries but we must extend this love; the ideal and the practical alike now compel it. The extension of Patriotism, that is the necessity and that is the hope... Thus shall our ideals which were so abused and betrayed at length be realized in ways our eyes could not then see. The anguish of our Age will not have been in vain if now is borne the Idea that shall carry man beyond what is called 'Democracy' and even beyond 'Fascism'."

Excerpt from a pamphlet: *Union of Europe—Extension of Patriotism and Idea of Kinship* by Oswald Mosley.

My Lord Archbishop,

How do you and the best of the present rulers, or rather spokesmen, of your British state system regard the "work of the future", the phrase you used for the great renewal of life in your address to the German people of November 1945?

You then asked us Germans the question—I repeat your words:—"What will your contribution be to the work of

the future? That will depend above all upon the spirit in which you face the present day and those to come, the faith which you find."

I do not know whether the decision that a "re-education" of the Germans must be officially undertaken by the victorious Powers originated in England or with the Americans. Nor do I know what part, if any, it was intended that the Bolsheviks and the French and the Czechs and the Poles should play in this work of re-education. It is, however, immaterial where the idea first took shape, or who were intended to share the task of carrying it into effect. At all events this new-style pedagogic experiment in the re-education of an old cultural nation has been begun, energetically and in all seriousness, by the British and the Americans. Was and is its purpose indubitably to help the Germans to find *the right* spirit in which to face the present day and those to come and *the faith* by which they must be guided?

My Lord Archbishop,

Your address to the German people, as it was reported in our newspapers, ended with the sentence: "But just because you are for the time powerless as a nation, because you have to make a fresh start, you can, you must choose your ground of faith."

At this turning point in human affairs, at which we Europeans stand, the white man everywhere in the world needs re-education. He must reorientate his thinking. Yet, My Lord, from whom are all those, like ourselves perhaps, who have become the pawns in a political game, to accept teaching and guidance? What will inevitably determine them in heart and mind? The grave admonitions of foreigners, many of them given with the best intentions, or the actions which accompany the good advice?

I must now speak of some of the things which have been said to us Germans and are being done to us Germans in this re-educational process, which has meanwhile been going on for three years, and of their effect upon us.

I can only cite a few instances. I cannot catalogue them all; the list would be intolerably long. I do not speak as an accuser; I do not speak in anger or in hatred or in cynical derision. Nor do I speak with the whining voice of self-pity

that foreign tendentious newspapers are so fond of detecting in German utterances. My reason for speaking is no more and no less than the conviction that, by what is being done in Germany and by the damage to spirit and faith, Europe and 'humanism' are being brought into the last and direst peril, a peril the like of which has never before existed.

My Lord Archbishop,

Until a short time ago, until the factual disagreement between the Eastern and Western Powers allied against us became all too patent, we were told that everything demanded of us, imposed upon us and recommended to us by our conquerors was indivisible in its origin and was therefore not specifically American or British or French or Russian, etc. From the beginning, and even under the shattering sequence of griefs inflicted upon us, there were no German outbursts of hatred; no German voice was raised accusingly against any one of the Great Powers, even behind locked doors. There was, on the other hand, a startling and alarming contagion of a cold, general, aimless laughter, not only at the mention of the word 'democracy' (in inverted commas) with which we were supposed to have been familiarized by the various things which had been done to us, silent and defenceless, during the last three years.

But, My Lord, I feel that I must not let myself lapse into this tone. I do not want to antagonize my reader or listener. I must not allow my anger to cloud my brain and confuse my determination to see things, in spite of everything, in a proper perspective.

Yet I cannot help asking what will be the effect on our last common chance, and this means "Europe", of the political game which has now (1948) been played for over three years with Germany, and of what is happening at the present moment inside Germany: the Europe which you and I and every European brought up in the same traditions cherish in our hearts as the characteristic description of the highest achievement of the intellectually and spiritually gifted for the good of all humanity, and as denoting everything that is capable of rising above the level of instinct and the beast.



My Lord Archbishop,

While for the last three years there has been the pretence that once again the German danger was Europe's primary concern, and while it was argued that the possible recurrence of this danger must be prevented by measures of coercion, punishments and endless expiations, by an economic stranglehold and by new school books, the Bolshevik danger to Europe has become more and more alarmingly clear, except to the short-sighted and the hate-blinded, as far nearer, far more real and at the same time hopelessly difficult to deal with. This new danger has unexpectedly loomed into full view because of the annihilation of Prussia and Austria, in a word of "the Germans", as a power factor in Europe, especially in Eastern Europe, and because the Bolshevized Slav peoples of the East have been allowed to pour into Germany across her eastern frontiers.

My Lord Archbishop, this pretended German danger exists only as a pretext for the multifarious pack of self-avengers, for irresponsible national-political and economic opportunists and land-robbers, and for that regiment of guilty men outside Germany who must needs find a smoke-screen for their own black culpability for the greatest of all human aberrations, the Second World War. The great nations, however, who have now awakened to realities, look beyond the troublesome and unsatisfactory task of disposing of the German danger they have conjured up and which, they have so firmly persuaded themselves, exists, and turn their eyes with the very gravest anxiety to what now appears revealed as a sudden, violent and momentous quarrel between the West and the East. To those among the Germans who have become aware of the possible consequences there is only one very serious political implication: namely, occasional doubts as to which way the German majority will let itself be drawn in the event of an outbreak of open hostilities between the East and the West.

We may say then that the conviction, hammered in by every available means of propaganda, that the existence of Europe has been threatened since the turn of the century by German power politics has been replaced by the new recognition of the fact that Europe, and thereby the West, stands

in mortal danger from the alien and Bolshevik-dominated East.

Yes, even the Germans have found a rallying cry in the opposition between the East and West which now looms larger than any other consideration.

"The struggle for world space is now going on on the Mississippi and on the Volga." You may read those words in a Sunday paper published by a German bishop.

The paper then says that "what is now happening shows the style in which the 'two young world Powers', one of which will create the coming world unity and decide the future order of the world, are sparring for position." And it goes on: "We (Germans) at the same time foresee our fate: to stand as the wreck of a former Great Power midway between those two World Powers . . . educated and governed by the East and by the West, and thrust by both sides into a No Man's Land between the two fronts. That is the fate of the whole of Europe, but it will be only to-morrow that its peoples will realize the fact. And so to-day we stand alone. What is to be done in this predicament? We are not asked; we have no say in the matter. Not in the East, and not in the West."

My Lord Archbishop,

I see the position differently. I cannot help believing that Sovietism, if it gained the upper hand and succeeded in establishing its mastery in Europe, would crush out Europe just as it would the Western world and Christianity along with it. Only all this has nothing to do with decisions between the East and the West. And if Bolshevism were successfully parried and pushed back into Asia, and if tribunals were set up on Russian-European soil to mete out retribution and revenge, and a network of re-education were spread over that vast Russian area, and a debolshevization procedure, similar to the denazification, carried through there, then behind the eradicated Bolshevism the last, the gravest and the most fundamental danger to Europe, and in the long run to "white man" wherever he may live, would at last be plainly visible to everybody.

My Lord Archbishop,

The last, the most fundamental danger to Europe, and in the long run to the "white man" wherever he may live, resides—as I have pointed out in this book and as I indicated years ago in my *Englische Rede*—in the mass-mindedness which is spreading everywhere like wild-fire, and in the opportunities increasingly offered by the masses to the demagogues, the tub-thumpers and the propagandists of state-nationalism and political parties.

How does mass-mindedness originate? What, besides the jabber of political demagogues and propagandists of various kinds, makes it more and more virulent, and more and more destructive of what—I repeat—you and I and every German and every Englishman and every European, whether he be living in Asia, Africa or Australia, have called Europe in a spiritual sense?

And, first and foremost, what causes mass-mindedness? What are the things that are being ruthlessly destroyed by the blind masses in their subservience to fundamentally different "tainted and talented" leaders, sometimes in a short-sighted folly and sometimes consciously out of hatred and envy and a sense of inferiority?

I reply without sequence.

The social upper class is being wiped out, and with it the intellectual upper class. Every chance for the intellectual upper class to renew itself from the people is being wiped out. Every chance of that freedom necessary to independent achievement is being wiped out. The breed of men who created, preserved and glorified Europe, and who till to-day made Europe the criterion for the rest of the world, is being progressively wiped out.

But what then made the masses, for whom life was made possible by the exploration and the inventiveness of the intellectual upper class, so open to the infection of mass-mindedness? How was it that here in Germany mass-mindedness was perceptible so much earlier than it was in Great Britain or in America or even in France?

My Lord Archbishop,

Before the demagogues and the "tainted talented" began

to exert their inflammatory influence, one factor contributed to the growth of mass-mindedness: the necessity for large numbers of people to grow up without the attachments of "Blood and Soil" (the phrase did not originate with the National Socialists.)

A contributory cause of the growth of mass-mindedness was what we Germans call *Verstädterung*, the tight packing-together of people in towns and cities. Another contributory cause is the progressive pejorative influence on woman, unfitting her for the role of wife and mother, of the cinema, of smoking, and of the opportunities for tittle-tattle.

And we must also include the embitterment and frustration, mostly due to the policy of pseudo-statesmen, by which people are prevented from developing to the full their own useful and special talents.

And finally the worst and weightiest contributory factor is the connection between over-population and scarcity, between "need and number".

My Lord Archbishop,

You in Great Britain and in the United States of America, although you too are being urbanized and are largely without the attachments of blood and soil, have *not yet* become aware of the phenomenon of mass-mindedness as capable of wiping out the intellectual white aristocracy of the world; and therefore you fail to recognize it as the greatest danger for Europe because in Great Britain and the United States, and even in France, thanks to the till recently inexhaustible wealth of your empires, every ambitious Englishman, American and Frenchman has had the chance to develop his useful and special aptitudes, and because embittered and frustrated people were not running around in ever increasing numbers.

In Great Britain and in the United States of America and in France envy has not yet gnawed and consumed the upper class. Your party demagogues have not yet demanded a barren levelling, but the representatives of the upper class have been looked up to by the masses as patterns and examples of what any man might achieve for himself and make of himself in the service of the community.



And the scale of values accepted by the upper class was accepted by the whole people, just as formerly in Germany "middle class respectability" was something to be aspired to by our honest and decent and hard-working people, in the days when we still had the attachments of "blood and soil" and before over-population and scarcity had begun to be connected.

My Lord Archbishop,

I have previously asked the question: what will be the effect on our last common chance of the political game which has now been played for over three years with Germany, and of what is happening at the present moment inside Germany to "Europe", the Europe which every Englishman and every German and every European brought up in the same traditions cherishes in his heart as the characteristic description of the highest achievement of the intellectually and spiritually gifted for the good of all humanity?

My Lord Archbishop,

For three years the victorious occupants of Germany have busied themselves with a "deadly yesterday". For three years, in their preoccupation with the supposed German danger, they have allowed the immense European danger to grow. For three years all the political measures, all the requitals and punishments, all the *laissez-faire* and almost everything said and done from outside, and, in addition, by the flagellants inside Germany, have encouraged only one thing: mass-mindedness and the inevitable sequel for "Europe" and for "the end of the Western World".

My Lord Archbishop,

The early National Socialism as interpreted by the best of its youthful adherents was a conscious movement against mass-mindedness. It lapsed into wrong methods, not least because of exasperation at the misunderstanding, superstition and propaganda of the outside world, and itself fell a prey to mass-mindedness. And what now lies ahead, again and in fact, for you British and for us Germans?

My Lord Archbishop,

You know what was made possible by the Churchill-Stalin-Roosevelt decisions of Yalta and Potsdam. The consequences are plainly stated by Victor Gollancz in his book *Our Threatened Values* :

"They may be summed up in four words : annexation, expulsion, spoliation and economic enslavement, all of which, it may be remembered, are among the main counts of the Nuremberg indictment. Germany's historic eastern lands, where her people have lived and toiled for generations, and which had been her richest food producing areas, were torn from her and placed under alien domination."

At the time when Gollancz wrote those words, and when you, My Lord, delivered your broadcast address to the German people, neither he nor you nor the rest of the world were fully aware of the horrible way in which the wholesale expulsion of Germans in the east would be carried out, by which, up till now, 14,300,000 Germans have not only been despoiled of their homeland, their homes, their furniture and the last stick of their personal belongings, but have also in the majority of cases been maltreated and infamously used, particularly the inhabitants of the Sudetenland and German Bohemia.

These 14,300,000 utterly destitute Germans, without any questions having been asked about their racial affinities, their own personal wishes or the possibilities of accommodating them and giving them work and shelter, have been herded into the northern, western and southern parts of the rump of Germany. The pitiable refugees evicted from the Sudetenland and Bohemia, mostly Catholics who until the Treaty of St. Germain in 1918 had, like their ancestors before them, been subjects of Austria and who in 1918 vainly begged to be allowed to remain with German-Austria, have thus been driven into parts of the German rump where the peoples are of a totally different stock and habit of mind; and there they sit, like all those who have been driven from their homes, unwelcome intruders, disturbing the last peace and privacy of those German homes left standing after the "bomb-carpeting" phase of the war. Already without them there were few enough houses left. They must have their share of the food produced on the insufficient German arable land.

They must be shod and clad from the insufficient supply of leather and material. Where most of the factories are rubble they are supposed to find work to support them, and where the factories are still standing there are not only no raw materials, but the remaining installations have been or are being dismantled to this day (August 1948).

And while this has been and is happening German towns and villages and country houses, for example, mostly in the Sudetenland, but also in East and West Prussia, Silesia and Pomerania, have been destroyed and the European cultivation of German and German-Bohemian farms laid waste and the European cultivation of forests and river pastures devastated.

In the Bishop of Hanover's Sunday paper to which I have already alluded there recently appeared an article under the headline "The Roots of our Extremity" to this effect:

"Even if the peasant under the present unfavourable conditions is able to produce the same quantity of food as before 1939, we ourselves can feed with our own produce only 43.2 million people. For 24.7 million people foodstuffs must be imported. These imports can be paid for only by corresponding exports. Where are we to find the markets?"

But this hypothesis overlooks the fact that, even if by some miracle we were to find the markets, we should still be quite unable to produce the necessary quantity of goods for export, for the simple reason that our factories have been wrecked and gutted by bombs and because we have not the raw materials (which we could not pay for anyhow because we have neither gold nor currency nor barter commodities) and because the revenue which would normally have accrued from our innumerable special inventions, patents and technical processes has now been cut off at the main wherever our patent rights have been expropriated without compensation; and in addition to this theft of our patents and technical processes we have been robbed of the freedom to earn currency by trade because we are forbidden to maintain a large merchant navy or to run commercial air-lines.

My Lord Archbishop,

Where do you think this game is leading? Do you clearly perceive the consequences for an agglomeration of approximately seventy million people in Central Europe when the ties

of blood and soil are severed, if daily all domesticity and the peace of family life, all privacy and individual development is more and more disrupted, and the possibilities of existence depend on charity and are at the mercy of mutual and state robbery? When all this is happening, not from any divine or natural necessity, but as a political policy? When this unsound policy allows wide, once industriously cultivated areas at the heart of Europe, adjoining territories where over-population and scarcity are concomitant, to be confiscated and turned into a wilderness at the will of state-political demagogues?

My Lord Archbishop, do not misunderstand me. This is not a jeremiad to soften your heart towards Germany. My eyes are fixed on Europe and on the damage that is being done to Europe without rhyme or reason by the superstition, vengefulness and covetousness of the mass-minded.

My Lord Archbishop, a short time ago a committee was formed in the United States of America to oppose the mass-expulsion of populations. The names of eleven prominent American citizens are on this committee. Only one is a German name. The committee published three pamphlets in America with the following titles: *The Land of the Dead*, *Study of the Deportation from Eastern Germany*; *Tragedy of a People*, *Racialism in Czechoslovakia*; and *Men without the Rights of Man*, *Report on the Expulsion and Extermination of German-speaking Minority Groups in the Balkans and pre-war Poland*. The last-named contains this sentence:

“The existence of large masses of uprooted propertyless, unemployed and embittered people in Europe is a social danger of the first order and a direct invitation to Communism. The policy of expulsion practised by the Allies since the close of the second world war has enormously aggravated this danger.”

(from *Men without the Rights of Man*, page 28.)

It appears, however, that this committee, formed with the excellent intention not only to issue a very necessary warning, but also to intervene, owing to its geographical remoteness from Europe fails to apprehend two things.

It does not seem to have grasped that *the most intrinsic danger is mass-mindedness itself and not Communism ‘per se’*.



And it does not yet seem to perceive that the effect of expelling from their homeland millions of despoiled and propertyless people and crowding them into districts of the German rump is, willy-nilly, destructive and disruptive and creates a mass-mindedness which is undermining the morals of those who were born and bred in the rump Germany.

And there is yet a third thing which is obviously not clear to the committee: the fact that there can be no economic solution of the future so long as the compression of these tightly-packed millions within the German rump continues.

My Lord Archbishop,

While seventy million people now live cooped up in Central Europe deprived of their last right to domesticity, to the peace of their homes and the undisturbed sanctity of family life, while they have been and are cynically being robbed of their homes—a word which has such friendly associations for every human soul—while to every one of them this loss becomes more and more intolerable, morning, noon and night, the policy of revenge and retaliation and dragooning is incessantly being implemented on these bewildered folk and, day in day out, the licensed newspapers and the radio loudly inform us of such action, regimentation and accusation.

And therefore the bewildered are left in no doubt that there are as a matter of policy two standards of judgment; that because they have not the power to defend themselves they have no right to rights, and the things which you pillory and condemn as crimes are the very things that are going on around them, and have been and are being done to them continually.

My Lord Archbishop,

I ask what will become of these helpless masses to whom all this is happening and who are being overwhelmed by the storm? How will, how must, the mass-mindedness to which they are being increasingly induced and driven one day find expression?

I repeat that I no longer utter a plea for Germany; only I could not let the desperate, last hope for Europe, the Europe dear to us all, escape.

Or do you, My Lord, perceive the prospect of some gain for a new, a shriven "Europe" in the things that have been said and done, the experiments that have been tried concurrently for more than three years by far too many re-educators of a defenceless Germany? I give instances which appear to have been already forgotten in their details, but are not so in their effects.

My Lord Archbishop,

What useful purpose is served and what impression is produced by the verdict in the notorious Krupp trial at Nuremberg, in which the young Alfred Krupp, who succeeded his ailing father and acted as any right-minded Englishman would have acted had he been in his place or in the place of his father, was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment and the confiscation of all the unique work and property built up by his family? What is the impression produced, in particular, when in this serious case an emigrant, a Dr. Max Mandellaub—a Communist witness stated that he had been introduced to him as a good Communist on a visit to Essen—is allowed to come forward as one of the principal witnesses for the prosecution and openly to declare, as reported in the *Neue Zeitung*, ostensibly as the mouthpiece of our conquerors: "This sentence is a positive moral contribution to the question of international necessity".

My Lord Archbishop, what useful purpose is served and what impression is produced by the final decision to demolish the August Thyssen foundries at Hamborn? The work of demolition was begun in July 1948 and is supposed to require five years for its completion. When it is completed, according to the declared opinion of experts, eighty per cent of the machines will have no more than scrap value. The works were formerly among the most famous and productive enterprises in Europe; a year after the resumption of full activity they would have been able to produce an annual output of one and a quarter million tons of raw steel. They gave employment and bread to fifty thousand men.

My Lord Archbishop, what useful purpose is served and what impression is produced by the unimportant but very typical incident which occurred in July 1948 in Singen am Hohentweil where, again reported in that organ of re-

education, the *Neue Zeitung*, a number of public buildings were closed to the German population for four weeks by order of the French Military Government because—on the occasion of a visit by the Inspector-General of the French Army, General de Lattre de Tassigny, the private houses of this little German town were insufficiently beflagged?

My Lord Archbishop, what effect is produced and what useful purpose served—always with an eye to the salvation of Europe and German re-education which is, after all, surely supposed to contribute to the preservation of Europe—by the rape of the German Saar district, with its rateable value of two and a half milliard dollars?

What is the effect of the tug-of-war over the Ruhr from which, for the time being, only one fact emerges: that the Germans living there are actually to be allowed to go on working in the enormous production works opened and built up by themselves in their impoverished region—in so far as bomb damage and the dismantling procedure permit—but that the products of their work are to be distributed by others and others are to have the priority benefit?

What is the effect of the notorious statement of the British General Bishop before the Zonal Advisory Council during the negotiations about the dismantling of the Krupp Works? In 1930, under the democratic German government, Krupps employed forty thousand hands. In September 1947 sixteen thousand still found employment there. It was pointed out to the Zonal Advisory Council that after the proposed dismantling there would at most be employment for six thousand in the works. General Bishop replied that eight thousand men would be occupied for years to come in the work of dismantling (i.e. of destruction) and that the municipality of Essen must take over another two thousand workers. No unemployment, he said, need be caused by the dismantling of the Krupp works and therefore the sixteen thousand workers could still earn their bread.

A prominent journalist, Ernst Fiedländer, made this comment in the weekly review *Die Zeit*, 25 September 1947:

“Let us not lose sight of the fact that almost two and a half years after the cessation of hostilities a decision is being taken or reaffirmed to let eight thousand men, no small number of whom are

highly-skilled workers, be employed for years to come on the execution of a scheme of further destruction in our devastated Germany. In one single town. In one single concern. A calculation which simply reckons any employment as employment conceals the essential fact. You can no more add those who are employed on the work of destruction to those who are employed on the work of rebuilding than you can add apples and pears. And in any case it is sadder that any man should be employed on the work of destruction than that he should be unemployed. The unemployed man does not contribute anything to the productivity of the community, but the demolition worker not only adds nothing, but materially subtracts."

My Lord Archbishop, what effect is produced, what useful purpose is served when France, deaf to all protests and pleas, allows her army of occupation of 100,000 men, with their dependents and 10,000 French children into the bargain, to be fed by the German economy of its hungry occupation zone with thousands of tons of meat, cheese and butter, still in 1948? What effect is produced and what useful purpose is served by representing this situation as a main obstacle to the formation of a Trizone because, for their part, the Americans and the British were unwilling to make themselves responsible for this supplement to the rations?

What effect is produced and what useful purpose is served by the unworthy interference with the Black Forest clock industry and its provisional destruction? You will have heard that a president of the state of South Würtemberg died in desperation after the failure of his efforts to effect an alteration of this order for destruction, issued by the French military government. You may also have read that certain interested Englishmen boasted that they had decisively contributed to the enforcement of this order eliminating the competition of the Black Forest clocks for many years to come. And lastly you will have learnt, and no doubt with disapproval, of the ruling of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on that occasion that as the German clock industry had been expanded two and a half times in the course of the Second World War it had been used for—essential war purposes.

My Lord Archbishop, what effect is produced and what useful purpose served by the vexatious protraction of reparations after exactions, calculated to reach a total value of seventy milliard dollars, have been provisionally wrung from the



German people? And what is the effect on the general morale when the only raw materials produced by the fettered German people have been and are taken from them and credited to them at prices far below the world market prices? And what is the effect on the general morale, which it would be so necessary for the sake of "Europe" to regenerate, of that monstrous robbery of German brains, the theft of all utilizable German patents? We read that the number of these patents which have been expropriated reaches a round total of two hundred thousand inventions. We learn from the comment of the *New York Times* that "in the cost of experiments alone American economy has been saving two to three billion dollars as a result of release of German secrets".

My Lord Archbishop, what effect is produced and what useful purpose served by the judicial seizure of the greater part of all German private property abroad to an alleged value of seven milliard dollars which, by hitherto recognized rights, should be inviolate personal property?

My Lord Archbishop, what effect is produced and what useful purpose served by the forcing-up of occupation costs in the insolvent German Länder? In 1947, we so read, the costs of the occupation in the British and American Zones amounted to over 4.3 milliards; to which must be added a further 0.4 milliard for railway and postal services to the occupation. The occupation forces have been reduced, but the costs have risen considerably. Sixty per cent of the total earnings of the population in the three western zones are spent on the occupation and administration. What effect is produced and what useful purpose served by the expenditure on the costs of occupation of forty per cent of all taxes levied in Schleswig Holstein, where 180 millions alone have to be paid to the German personnel in the service of the occupation authorities, while the salaries of the whole regular German civil services of the province do not exceed fifty-four million? My Lord Archbishop, a lengthy list of similar instances of occupation costs might be given. In the latter half of the month of August 1948 a DENA report was widely circulated. It said that the British civil governor of Hamburg, H. Vaughan Berry, agreed with the view that the costs of the occupation must certainly be reduced; at the same time he pointed out to critics that if

there were no occupation troops in Germany considerable sums would have to be spent on a standing German army. The governor, My Lord, is indisputably right. But have not the Germans been told all along as part of their re-education that their army and their former allegiance to their army and the performance of their duty in that army were to be regarded as reprehensible militarism?

My Lord Archbishop, what effect is produced and what useful purpose served by the prolongation, now in 1948, of the occupation rules and regulations in the occupied German regions, with their various consequences so disturbing to the minds of the masses and so encouraging to the nihilism and the cynicism of the mass-minded?

My Lord Archbishop, what effect is produced and what useful purpose served by actions like the procedure at the Gute-Hoffnungshütte Oberhausen where two machines were declared war booty and were removed at short notice. These unique machines were required for testing materials used in mining and for the products of a peacetime economy; they had no connection whatever with the production of arms. When the German economic administration tried to protest against the classification of these machines as booty and the removal of these irreplaceable adjuncts of the laboriously revived economy and the coal-mining industry, the directorate of the economic board in Minden received the following reply on 5 December 1947:

"...the question whether the machines should be classified as booty or as reparations is entirely a matter for the decision of the Occupation authorities and it is impossible to enter into any discussion on this point. It should, however, be pointed out that the classification of machines as booty or as reparations in no way affects the question whether they should be removed or not. The removal of these machines has been authorized by the Occupation authorities and there can be no question of their return."

My Lord Archbishop, what is the effect produced and what useful purpose is served by the wanton deforestation of German forests? In some zones, we are told, almost one third of the forests have been cleared of timber. The various protests made have remained ineffectual. For the forestry economic year 1947-1948 Baden must deliver 11.5 million cubic metres of timber, a quantity equal to the total amount

of timber hitherto allowed to be felled in ten years. The various protests made remained ineffectual. Those who gave orders for this wanton deforestation of our forests do not seem to be aware that the climate and the fairly equable rainfall in the naturally unfertile Germany and Central Europe is dependent on the presence of the world-famous, uniquely cultivated German forests and that their despoliation contributes to the impoverishment of Germany to the detriment of Europe.

My Lord Archbishop, what is the effect produced and what useful purpose is served by the endeavour to defame intellectual Germany? We see, to select one instance out of many, an eminent German High School teacher prevented from the exercise of his vocation, ostensibly because he is the author of a book on Nietzsche, because he belonged to the Stefan George circle and because he spoke and wrote advocating the formation of an "Elite". We know that thousands of volumes of the works of the great poet Kolbenheyer have been turned into waste paper, and a ban placed on his work and also on that of many other creative writers. Other instances? I know that my own book *Volks ohne Raum*, written in the years 1920-1926, had been placed not only on the Bolshevik forbidden list, but also, partly from ignorance and partly jealousy, on other black lists. The silencing of Junger, still enforced in the middle of 1949, is common knowledge in Germany. And all these things—the list is a long one—have happened and are happening while propaganda continually and disgustingly rakes up the old story of the burning of books by the hotheads on 10 May 1933 with which intellectual Germany was in no way concerned, except to condemn that folly and to prevent its continuance. What effect is produced and what useful purpose is served by granting Germany only four wavelengths in place of the twelve great transmitting stations of 1937, each of which had its regional stations using their own wave-length? The German language is still numerically the most widely-spoken native language in Europe. The German radio network was not an inflated apparatus of National Socialism; it owed its expansion neither to economic speculation nor to a political craving for expansion.

And, My Lord Archbishop, what effect is produced and what useful purpose served by the extraordinarily one-sided and evasive re-educational process, and the censorious scrutiny of our German nursery tales? They are presumed to have been contributory causes of the particularly cruel occurrences which took place during the time when National Socialism was fighting with its back to the wall; and these fairy tales, of all unlikely things, are supposed to have inculcated cruelty into the harrassed, good-natured German people from their childhood, in contrast presumably to the nursery tales of other nations and their effect on them, and also in contrast to the impression made on sensitive minds since time immemorial by the Old Testament. For the sake of the future, German children must not be allowed to make the acquaintance of the German nursery tales except in a sedulously expurgated version in order to eliminate this recognized danger and the cause of German moral turpitude. Do you believe, My Lord, that by such a futile "dismantling" of our fairy tales it is possible to-day to guard German children from the knowledge and the alarmingly cold experience of the cruelty of life, when these German children are the same children who have to live in cities flattened by "bombing-carpet" or children who have been driven from their homeland or have seen their parents maltreated and stripped of everything they possessed; or children to whom murder films are shown, who listen to the radio programmes offered or get hold of the newspapers deliberately printed for the re-education of the Germans?

My Lord Archbishop, what effect is produced and what useful purpose served by delaying for so long and failing to complete the general repatriation of German prisoners of war? In January 1948 the Red Cross gave the figure of two and a half million German soldiers whose miserable existence as forced labourers in foreign captivity was being protracted beyond the cessation of hostilities. On the basis of this figure it has been calculated that this slavery, continued, despite the condemnation of such practices at Nuremberg, long after the German surrender, represents three milliard work-days and thirty milliard work-hours. In the summer of 1948 the American organ of re-education, the *Neue*



*Zeitung*, reported that the Poles, under whose administration the German eastern provinces over an area extending from Danzig to Stettin, to Breslau and Upper Silesia are more or less falling to rack and ruin, were holding back forty thousand former German soldiers due for repatriation to their homes in the Western Zone as a lever of blackmail on the British authorities. The British authorities were apparently to be blackmailed into receiving into the already over-crowded British Zone a further hundred thousand Germans expelled by the Poles from the eastern provinces of Germany. Their increasingly desperate wives, children and parents grieve for these forty thousand soldiers held as a bargaining counter, as they do for the other millions in captivity.

My Lord Archbishop, what effect is produced and what useful purpose served by the retention—in spite of incessant condemnations and declarations at Nuremberg, etc.—of concentration camps of various kinds in which the German inmates have been and are exposed to irregular examinations and torture? According to the Berlin *Welt* of 17 June 1948 ten thousand men and a hundred and seventy women were interned in the notorious camp at Buchenwald.

My Lord Archbishop, what effect is produced and what useful purpose served by the Munich speech made on 3 June 1948 by one of the heads of the military government in which the speaker thought it necessary or permissible to tell his German audience roundly: “The accused at Nuremberg are traitors to your nation”? The re-educational *Neue Zeitung* picked out this sentence as a sub-title for that part of his speech which it reported. The main caption was: “La Folette warns the Germans!”

The speech was made after the American attorney Carroll had told the correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* that the Nuremberg War Criminals Trials were “a tragic travesty of American justice”.

The speech was made after the article in *Die Zeit* of 22 January 1948 headed “Nuremberg Justice” the first sentences of which ran:

“We have until now remained silent about much that is being done in Nuremberg on the responsibility of the prosecuting authorities. We have remained silent about what is going on in the witnesses’ wing of the court. We have remained silent about the

threats and intimidations to which witnesses have been exposed and which are incompatible with our ideas of judicial procedure. We have remained silent when informed by witnesses that attempts have been made to induce them to sign false statements at variance with their sworn testimony. We have remained silent knowing that innocent witnesses have been detained in custody for months—it was an American judge who ascertained this fact at the trial of the generals. . . .”

The speech was, furthermore, made after the two letters addressed by the brave Evangelical Bishop Wurm to Dr. R. M. W. Kempner, deputy to the principal American prosecuting counsel, in which he pointed out that in the preparation of the indictment for the Nuremberg and Dachau War Criminals trials, which ended in sentences of death, criminal methods had been used and abominable torture applied in order to extract statements and confessions. “If,” wrote Dr. Wurm, “these War Criminals trials are being undertaken on the basis of international justice, then it is impossible, in the name of justice, to condemn crimes committed by Germans and to condone by silence, in the name of the same justice, other crimes and criminals of a similar nature”.

The speech was made after the conversations between the Suffragan Bishop of Munich and members of the United States Congress on 24 March 1948, following which the congressmen were sent material of over a hundred pages relative to the Malmedy trial held at Dachau, including some dozen affidavits in which the condemned men swore that they had been subjected to severe maltreatment and deception during the preliminary investigation in which statements were extracted from them. Even Colonel Everett, the American counsel for the defence, in the course of the hearing, sharply, though ineffectively, challenged the statements obtained under pressure.

The speech was made after the evidence given by the British General Staff officer and naval historian, Russell Grenfell, at the trial of the OKW at Nuremberg. According to the Berlin *Kurier* of 29 May 1948, he declared: “Officers are obliged to obey orders irrespective of whether they agree with them or not.” He impugned the legality of all the War Criminals trials at Nuremberg and the decision of the International court that officers could be held responsible for

the breach of international law because they had carried out their orders. He explained that it was part of the task of every operational staff to work out, in peace-time, offensive plans for every eventual contingency of war. In the British Admiralty, he said, before 1914 and 1939 offensive plans had also been prepared for the annihilation of the German navy and for invasions across the English Channel. When asked by the counsel for the defence whether it would have been possible for a British general to refuse to carry out an operational plan because of political scruples or because, in his opinion, it was an infringement of international law, he replied with a curt "No". Many officers of the British Navy, he emphasized, held the same views on this question as himself.

The so-called "warning" of that director of the military government whom I have named, issued on 3 June 1948 *after* those previous events culminated in the following sentences, quoted from the *Neue Zeitung*:

"If the German people desire to make clear to the world that they have not changed and have no intention of changing, then the surest means of doing so will be to make martyrs of the common criminals arraigned at Nuremberg. This makes it clear as day that those whose game it is to discredit the Nuremberg trials—from whatever motives—are enemies of the German people and the destroyers of all our present hopes of a peaceful and flourishing Europe."

My Lord Archbishop, what useful purpose has been and is served, and what effect has been and is being produced, by authorizing emigrants from Germany and those who have suffered and are eager to avenge their sufferings on Germany to interfere in matters which appear to concern Germany, but which really mean the rebirth of the death-blow of Europe when Europe is in the greatest danger of all time, a danger in which we are all involved together?

When on 4 August 1894 the anarchist Caserio stood his trial in Paris for the assassination of the French President Carnot, the then most widely read English weekly, the *Saturday Review*, disapproved of the way the trial was conducted from an English standpoint. It openly censured the proceedings: "How can there be any belief in the administration of justice", it asked, "by men who play to the gallery,

who make a point of exaggerating, imputing motives and repeating hearsay for the express purpose of aggravating the case against the prisoner?"

My Lord Archbishop, what useful purpose has been and is being served, and what effect has been and is being produced, by what Germans have been made to do, and still must do, in obedience to the orders of their conquerors in the name of denazification and demilitarization?

The inventors of this idea, whoever they were, started out from the assumption that the blame—yes, the greatest measure of blame—must be ascribed to those who were the earliest to believe in a National Socialist (instead of a Marxist) regeneration of the sick body of the nation, because by their supposed pioneer services they made possible the later aberrations of Hitlerism.

The inventors of this idea argued that all those who strove for a National Socialist (instead of a Marxist) regeneration of the sick body of the nation were actuated by an evil, even criminal, intention.

The inventors forgot that, at the time of the formation of the National Socialist movement, a great part of the world was in a state of agonizing and virulent disorder owing to politically-created and unnecessary injustices and politically-created and unnecessary frustration; also that the German national body was the greatest sufferer from these conditions and was consequently, physically and spiritually, the most gravely ailing.

The inventors of the idea ignored the passionate and fundamentally religious protest which found expression in the true National Socialism against any prevalence of dishonesty and corruption in thought and deed.

The hate-filled inventors of the idea have concentrated on the anti-Semitism which developed under Hitlerism, and was a departure from the early forms of a defensive anti-Semitism as a prophylaxis against decadence.

The inventors of the idea have not themselves experienced, or have forgotten, or some of them wilfully wish it to be forgotten, that the early and the true National Socialism, in not a few places and in not a few human and social relations,



has exercised a quite astonishing purifying effect on both social and private life.

I have made mention in the first part of this book of my own experiences in my village of Lippoldsberg where, owing to the absence of Jews and their press and belligerent Marxism, there was at the outset an astonishing increase among simple folk in the sense of communal responsibility, in spontaneous readiness to make sacrifices, in glad self-discipline and in pride and dignity.

My Lord Archbishop, not a few places in the old Reich—I should really say many places—and I repeat this—were affected just as my village was. My Lord Archbishop, when the Reich's extremity in the war and the evil and criminal actions, committed on very many different hands round and about them, against them and in their midst, brought disaster upon the German people; when they temporarily altogether lost their heads, many of them, in their hearts, did not lose their susceptibility to the moral elevation in which the early and true National Socialism had taught them to play their part. My Lord Archbishop, I cannot help thinking that the misunderstanding of the early and true National Socialism ideals and their causes has been and is a very great misfortune for Europe and a very great propagandist self-deception. This misunderstanding has given rise to a double standard of judgment against the defeated; and there has arisen, increasingly every day, that gravest imperilling of "Europe" of which I have spoken; the formidable and indoctrinated cynicism and nihilism, the sneering, ice-cold mockery of the masses, who cannot fail to perceive that this temper in no way checks, but rather encourages evil forces and misery.

My Lord Archbishop,

While German Central Europe is the first to feel the effects of those occurrences of which I listed a few haphazard examples for your consideration in this book, while "spirit" and "faith", mentioned in Your Grace's broadcast message, are becoming more and more perplexed by the accumulation and constant recurrence of these happenings, pious exhortations and summary judgments of our people and our national

character are unending. They have neither dispelled nor clarified our perplexity.

We read in October 1947 an "emphatic" statement made by General Clay to a Press conference in which he said: "No conquered land has ever been treated with more consideration."

We read in September 1947 about the lecture on "Christianity and Politics" delivered by Lord Pakenham to the students of the University of Kiel. The report of this lecture in the *Neue Zeitung* concluded: "You have deserted the sphere of the European spirit", cried Lord Pakenham to his student audience, "we wish to guide you back to it." Great Britain, he said, would not be unmindful of her duties to the Germans. To the question put by a student whether the retention of the German prisoners of war in England (after 1947) could be reconciled with the basic principles of Christian neighbourly love Lord Pakenham replied that, in the view of the British government, it must be remembered that, quite apart from the damage caused by the Germans, the harvesting work done by the prisoners of war decreased the amount of food imports necessary to Great Britain which meant indirectly that more food could be imported into Germany. From the standpoint of international law the retention implied no breach of the peace treaty inasmuch as no treaty had yet been signed.

In July 1947 the same Lord Pakenham at the congress for German re-education held in London—vide the *Neue Zeitung*—declared: "Nothing is more important than a rapprochement of the British and German peoples." By this statement he expressed what has been for roughly fifty years—I am bound to say—the vain conviction of four fifths, if not of nine tenths of all thinking Germans.

We read in various papers in the summer or the autumn of 1947 the declaration of the otherwise very sceptical General Clay, our "governor" in the American Zone of Germany: "The United States have ear-marked two million dollars for the purpose of re-educating the German people for democracy. With this sum, among other things, famous professors from the United States will be engaged to collaborate by lectures in the work of re-education in Germany."

I must dwell for a moment on this announcement and this promise. The sceptics and the older men amongst us did not join in the laughter which is provoked among the masses whenever the word "democracy" is quoted at us by American or English lips. We ask ourselves: "What is that? The preaching of democracy by speakers and lecturers who have never been seared by acute economic and national distress? What sort of a democracy is that which is introduced by a dictatorship of the press such as is being imposed upon us and promoted by the censorship and banning of books, by forbidding people to practise their professions and by prohibiting parties which might perhaps become as dangerously "German" as British parties are "British" and American parties "American". What is this "democracy" which does not mean freedom? What is this "democracy" in which it is permissible to keep the public in ignorance of unwelcome truths and of intellectual and social tendencies by a restriction of free speech such as we have never known, except when Hitlerism was in its last extremity.

In these days, when the word "democracy" is too frequently quoted at us with the admonitory wagging of a finger, it was a relief to hear the following reference to it by Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, in an address delivered in the Church of St. Paul at Frankfort in May 1948. What he said was this:

"Democracy has been easy for us in America. Democracy demands favourable conditions. And there have almost always been favourable conditions in the United States. This country has been blessed with great natural wealth and an unassailable geographical situation. We possessed an immeasurable continent."

And in another passage of this forthright address he went on to say:

"We have always talked about democracy. We are only now beginning to ask ourselves whether formal and real democracy are not two entirely different things; whether voting for selected candidates for office at regular intervals is of itself enough to make democracy a comprehensible reality in the life of the citizen; yes, whether it makes the individual a citizen at all."

I will quote a second pronouncement of General Clay made to the German people through the medium of the press:

"We know that in Germany there are parties which are not democratic. Nevertheless we respect the democratic principles of

freedom of the press and of opinion. America does not believe in Socialism and Marxism. It has become great and rich under a system of free enterprise and has faith in it. But it has far greater faith in democracy. If Socialist and Marxist doctrines are disseminated in a democratic way, then we have no objection."

The sceptics and the older men amongst us, whose political thinking goes further back than Versailles or National Socialism or post-1945 propaganda, ask ourselves: "To what does he allude, when he makes the statement: 'we respect the democratic principles of freedom of the press and of opinion'? How is this respect shown to us?" And we ask ourselves: "What does he understand by 'the democratic way' in which Socialist and Marxist doctrines may be disseminated without let or hindrance?" Is it a "democratic way" when necessitous masses flock together and, without any personal knowledge of causes, allow glib propagandists and demagogues to make them accept the directives of a "totalitarian" party, which may be summed up as a compulsory equalitarianism and the expropriation of the coveted possessions of others, and whose slogan has always been the ostensible dictatorship of the masses or of the proletariat under a real dictatorship of demagogues and the "tainted talented"? Is this the "democratic way"?

And yet a third statement of General Clay's may be cited. Speaking on the subject of the dismantling at a press conference, held in Berlin in October 1947, he said:

"The factories which are being removed abroad can be set going there more rapidly than they can in Germany, and will consequently be able to make a larger contribution to the general economy of Europe."

It was calculated, the general added, that the total value of the establishments due for dismantling, which he estimated at one million dollars, was very little in excess of the sums granted by the United States and Great Britain to German economy in a single year. Nine months after this declaration we read in the July number of the *Reader's Digest* the critical article by O. K. Armstrong on the dismantling question. In it the wholesale demolition was called "Destruction of Germany at the expense of America".

My Lord Archbishop, let me supplement the few instances of the multifarious verdicts pronounced on us Germans during the last three years by two British utterances.



At a press conference in Berlin in June 1948 General Robertson announced new directives for the British occupation forces regulating their relations with the German population. According to the press report General Robertson observed: "The Germans are a civilised and Christian people; we have no longer the right to be ill-disposed towards them." I think this sentence must have been wrongly translated. I assume that the general said: "We ought no longer to treat them with repugnance." The press reported that a German journalist asked the general whether the Germans had really changed so much, in view of the fact that the relationship was now to be based on the assumption that the Germans are a civilized and Christian people, a basis which had not hitherto been recognized. To this question the gallant general replied that he thought many Germans had behaved in an uncivilized and un-Christian manner during the war. There was no doubt, he said, that a change of heart had been going on in the German people.

The last verdict I adduce I happened upon in Winston Churchill's *The Second World War*, as it was reproduced in the re-educational *Neue Zeitung*. Under the heading "The Situation and the Tasks of the British Navy at the Outbreak of War" this passage occurs:

"Once again defence of the rights of a weak state, outraged and invaded by unprovoked aggression, forced us to draw the sword. Once again we must fight for life and honour against all the might and fury of the valiant, disciplined and ruthless German race. Once again! So be it!"

The Gathering Storm; Chapter XXII, page 321.

One day, My Lord, if our "common Europe" has not foundered before then, a history less biased than it is to-day will present the man who delivered this verdict with a more complete commentary. As I have, however, quoted this verdict, I may add this present comment on behalf of my people: "This German people has never been disciplined. On the contrary it has been as undisciplined as it has been protestant. But in its old peasant and middle class essential character it has preserved a widely-prevailing and grand traditon of service which may be mistaken for discipline. And as far as 'ruthless cruelty' is concerned, I know at all events

that every living creature may be driven by perpetual carping and the calumny of his opinions and cherished beliefs into limitless and at the same time suicidal recalcitrance; but I also know that no European nation has shown a greater spontaneous friendliness of heart in its daily working life, in its music, its helpful sciences, its poetry and even in the royal dynasties which it has given far and wide to the world."

My Lord Archbishop,

A superficial reader of this book addressed, to you may persuade himself and repeat to others that my arguments, especially those adduced in the last pages, are an attempt of the pot to call the kettle black; that I have unmasked myself as an accuser or even as a Nationalist agitator. At least he may contend that I have recapitulated things which everybody knows and may ask: what good can come out of such an appeal?

My Lord Archbishop, I see to-day only one good thing, after all the world-wide blunders and mistakes which for many years past have been more and more alarmingly coming home to roost: the purpose to atone for them by unifying Europe with the hope of thereby saving our "common Europe" from—I borrow a slightly modified expression from Jakob Burckhardt—"forced levellings which threaten and, as things are to-day, are destroying Europe's peculiar virtue, which is its multifarious spiritual wealth." The worst and blindest enemy of an un-levelled but unified Europe is an unnatural mass-mindedness induced by wretched politics and impudent propaganda.

My Lord Archbishop, by collecting a few instances of what has happened, been said and done to the German people since 1945, that is, in the years in which a deliberate re-education of the German people is supposed to have been going on, I have tried to demonstrate that the road was a wrong road from the beginning and that at no period has the deadly danger of a levelling mass-mindedness in Central Europe been so promoted as in the years of the various attempts to re-educate Germany.

On 3 July 1948 a *Salzkammergut* newspaper, the "*Salzburger Nachrichten*", published an article entitled "An All or

Nothing Gamble for Germany". The article should have carried the title: "An All or Nothing Gamble for Europe".

My Lord Archbishop, I do not believe I have wandered too far from the warning contained in your broadcast of November 1945.

I repeat your warning once again. These were the words of your appeal:

"What will your contribution be to the future? That will depend above all upon the spirit in which you face the present day and those to come, the faith which you find... Just because you are for the time powerful as a nation, because you have to make a fresh start, you can, you must choose your ground of faith."

My Lord Archbishop, the monstrous, utterly senseless, herding together of Germans in Central Europe and the destruction of their family life was the result of policy, and this policy continues.

In consequence, the Germans have been denied one opportunity after another to work, one chance after another of recovery. At the same time it has been made plain to the Germans that everything done to them by way of retaliation and punishment has not been done only as the sequel of victory, but is being continued by a part of the victors on a large scale after the cessation of hostilities.

The Germans have been mentally subjected—partly from appalling thoughtlessness, and partly deliberately—to what I have repeatedly called, in a biblical phrase, "soul-murder".

My Lord Archbishop, in view of the conditions and circumstances thus created no choice any longer lies with us. The decisions have been taken, one after the other, arbitrarily and wilfully, by our so widely different conquerors and avengers and by the "secretly tainted".

The last chance of a decision to preserve "Europe", as we intellectuals of all the white nations understand it, in its hour of deadly peril lies to-day only with your more isolated country, and can be seized only by the stubborn resolution of your choicest spirits who have hitherto mostly remained silent.

For what else is there left to-day in the way of the best human breeding?

Certainly these choicest spirits must undergo a radical change of mind and must have the courage, besides, to recog-

nize very unwelcome causes. They will have to jettison their faith in a "deadly yesterday" if they are fully to grasp the mortal peril of mass-mindedness artificially induced and of its exploitation by various demagogues, whether they be pseudo-statesmen, so-called party leaders or insane and tainted adventurers.

My Lord Archbishop, when a few months ago a Youth meeting was held in Munich to promote re-education the French writer and poet, Jules Romains was one of the guests and speakers. Jules Romains is the author of the great novel "*Les hommes de bonne volonté*" (men of good-will). In contrast to another French writer, Vercors, who was also present as a guest speaker and delivered a blood-thirsty, retrograde and reckless speech that reeked of propaganda,—it is said of Vercors that he still believes and makes allusion to the story that the Germans had hacked off the hands of French and Belgian children in the First World War—Romains had the courage to speak of actual facts. While he was still there one of his articles was published in a German translation in the press under the title "An Eleventh Hour Appeal". Roughly translated, this article concluded: "A clear presentation of the real situation of mankind would bring about the first healthy revolt of the public opinion of the whole world. The situation might be symbolized by comparisons, but they would have to be forcible enough to startle the imagination. The following might perhaps serve as an allegory of man's situation in present-day Europe: a mighty battleship, equipped with the very latest technical inventions, but with no officers on the bridge, adrift on the storm-tossed ocean. Even this picture, rightly considered, is still too feeble. One would have to complete it by depicting a crowd of drunken sailors in the hold kindling a big fire close to the ammunition magazines."

My Lord Archbishop, I should like to be allowed to add a few words before I lay aside my pen. I have written this answer to your address to which you invited no reply. But for a long time I have been the recipient of questions from my compatriots, known and unknown to me, and I am able to give them no other answer than what I have tried here to formulate for you.



A number of my fellow-Germans have read this manuscript while I was writing it. A number have made copies of the first part which was sent to Your Grace in 1946. To others I have promised a forthcoming publication.

I hope that the censorship (1948) will be judicious enough to raise no objections to the printing of the amplified work and to its distribution in this twelfth hour of "Europe".

What I wish to say is scattered through all the pages of this book.

I recapitulate:

I perceived, not for the first time in 1918 or in 1933 or in 1945, but about 1911 after my return from Africa, that we were all involved in a historical crisis which, for the last fifty years, has been drawing ever more rapidly nearer and which has never yet been fully understood.

I came back from South Africa with three serious anxieties which even then I felt to be more closely inter-connected than very many German and British observers would even to-day be willing to admit.

The first of these serious anxieties was the steady growth in Great Britain since 1895, in spite of good and friendly Anglo-German relations, of a superstitious fear and suspicion of the Germans as factors in political and economic life.

The second cause of anxiety was the restriction of space and opportunity for industrious Germans within their political state-frontiers, which forced them to seek outlets far and wide and to make themselves obnoxious as trade-rivals.

The third cause of anxiety was the efficacy in creating mass-mindedness and destroying allegiances of Marxism, which, in the form of German Social Democracy, refused to admit the rise and fall in the standards of life, but, briefly, was fighting for higher wages without troubling about the political and economic prerequisites to the desired material advancement of the proletariat.

When I came home from South Africa in 1911 people all over the world still thought in terms of state politics; their political thinking was fundamentally nationalistic. I cherished the faint hope that the Germans, by their inventive talent, their industry and their thoroughness, would of themselves succeed in overcoming the three dangers which were causing me

anxiety: namely, the Anglo-German antagonism, the restriction of space and opportunity, and the "Red Flood" and its consequent mass-mindedness.

I was by no means convinced that this would be possible within the geographical frontiers of Germany, especially when I found at home two other causes for anxiety in addition to those which haunted me on my return from British dominions overseas.

In Germany I perceived the effects of an increasing envy created by the lack of space and opportunity and by a misconceived Socialism. I noticed a spiritual and intellectual decadence on which the licentiousness of much that was held up to the increasingly urbanized people as exemplary in print and pictures and on the stage was an evil influence.

Four times during the following thirty years my hope has been rekindled that the Germans, like other nations, might profit by state-nationalism.

This hope was encouraged by the incredible achievement of the German army in the First World War. It was encouraged by the brief (apparent) change of heart of the British towards Germany at the time of the struggle over the Ruhr. It was encouraged by the idealism and altruism of our young men and young women at the end of the twenties and at the beginning of the thirties. And once again it was encouraged by the superhuman performance of German men as soldiers in the field in the Second World War.

Towards the end of the Second World War I realized that the age of state-nationalism of the kind begun by Louis XIV and strengthened by the French Revolution was past for ever, in the first place for us, and after us for all European nations. I saw that none of the dangers which threatened Europe and were now so ubiquitously exposed could be removed by state-nationalism. On the contrary, state-nationalism can now only assist mass-mindedness under the leadership of pseudo-statesmen and demagogues; and that means accelerating the destruction of all that is "Europe".

I recognized that the survival of an obsolete state-nationalism was responsible for untold mischief. In its place there had arisen three necessities for all the nations: the unification of Europe, the removal of artificial political state frontiers, and

an intellectual, spiritual and physical conservation of the different racial characteristics and traditions by a natural "patriotism" such as had never yet existed.

Such a new variety of unpolitical patriotism was clearly needful to counteract mass-mindedness and mongrelization and to repudiate "forced unities" and "forced levellings"; yes, to retrieve the rich inheritance of the mind which had been squandered by state politics, propaganda and mass-mindedness in the age of state-nationalism.

And it must be clear to everybody that, on the one hand, a unification of Europe can never be achieved by a federation of heterogeneous political states, and that, on the other hand, a unified Europe *without* the most thorough conservation of racial character and traditions, and the fostering of their various, peculiar influences, would be an even worse construction and a more favourable soil for mass-mindedness and demagoguery than the artificial political state-forms of the past.

At the time when state-nationalism appeared to have been given a new lease of life by National Socialism, the poet Kolbenheyer well and instructively summed up the situation in a reply to Romain Rolland in 1933. His words are apposite and I should like to quote them here.

Kolbenheyer then wrote :

"The nations are subject to the biological necessity to collect their remaining native energies in order to test their vital powers of endurance and to ensure their continuance. This is the vital situation of the peoples of Europe. And it is at the same time the only possible course remaining to the white race if it is to survive. . . even nationalism is no longer in doubt that the security and the survival of the white race is only possible in Europe if we discover some consistent source of vitality which transcends nationalism."

There is no analogy between the structure that has to be created in and for Europe and that which exists in America under the name "United States" and can boast with a certain pride that it is the melting-pot in which the descendants of various breeds and races have been amalgamated into a single political nation.

We in Europe—until 1945 prior to the expulsions and deportations—were all nations with firm roots. It is of vital importance for us and for the world that we continue to live side by side as rooted peoples, and not be uprooted by

one another through the intrigues of pseudo-statesmen and demagogues, and our special breeds and aptitudes reciprocally ironed out.

There is one more word of explanation due to one section of the Germans who listen to the views of the writer, Hans Grimm. It may also help you, My Lord Archbishop, to see more clearly what we are and what we seek.

I have frequently and repeatedly been told in conversation and in letters that no one in the world has so disappointed the Germans as Great Britain. All thinking Germans, they tell me, have always been predisposed towards the Englishman whom they have regarded with the secret admiration accorded to an elder step-brother. This goodwill was strongest in the old upper class, the nobility, among army and naval officers, the great industrialists and scholars. Even the Austrian Hitler was by no means lacking in friendliness for England; indeed it very strongly influenced his early hopes and plans. Every informed German knows that this good will towards Great Britain very soon reappeared after 1911 and in 1919 after Versailles, as is corroborated by the memoirs of the British Ambassador, Viscount D'Abernon, and that, in spite of everything, it still existed in 1945.

But what has become of this good will now in 1948 after the experiences of the last three years? One might briefly account for its decline by reasoning: almost everything in which we characteristically resemble our step-brother in the British Isles across the water has been thoughtlessly destroyed by that step-brother himself.

And, into the bargain, we Germans have been delivered by that step-brother into the hands of Bolshevism without any essential reason and without any benefit to Great Britain.

And now, they say, I come to the conclusion and assert that Great Britain's leadership is essential to the unification of Europe, and before the first step can be taken towards the salvation of "Europe" through such unification, the impetus must come from Great Britain. My "anglo-mania", they aver, would go even further; I would be prepared to argue that, whereas state-nationalism must disappear from the continent of Europe, it must in the general European interest continue for quite a while to be valid for Britain overseas.



And, I am asked, am I ignorant of the tragi-comedy of re-education and all that pertains to it?

The tragi-comedy of re-education is, of course, familiar to me as it is to many Englishmen; and I have dealt with it in these pages, not least because I wished to show that it has not shaken my convictions.

As for British state-nationalism, its significance for "Europe" lies in the fact that *it has procured the acceptance of the European spirit over the greater part of the earth and, even to-day, in spite of all that has been done by British statesmen and politicians since 1895, it is the nature of British state-nationalism which keeps most powerfully alive and respected the good European spirit over the greatest part of the earth.*

And, finally, is it not true all over the chaotic continent of Europe of our time that British efforts still meet with the least opposition and the most approval, even though it is only occasionally apparent that, along with the jealous traders and liverish schoolmasters and pseudo-politicians, the English "gentleman" and his code are still present in Britain.

Certainly I, too, have heard it acclaimed, and not only by the younger generation of Germans, that the last war, the necessity of which has been dinned into British ears for the past fifty years and for which Hitler's impetuosity gave British politicians the final pretext, has reduced England from a first to a second rate power and that she peevishly refuses to accustom herself to this idea and to draw the inferences.

This may for the moment contain some measure of truth, but it need not remain true, provided England comes to her senses and gives us our chance to come to our senses too.

And it *must* not remain true! And any German who adopts it as an article of political faith, or even cherishes the belief as a wish or as a curse, has thereby finally given up "Europe" for lost, and that includes the abandonment of the last hope for Germany.

Since about the time of the Jameson Raid England appears to have preferred the stock market, mass interests and political emptiness to the word of her poets from Shakespeare to Byron as the incorruptible revealers of English thought, and has followed in general the wrong road. To many of us, afar

off, Shakespeare's English revelation seems to have utterly lost validity. But we, too, have set up the idols and sown the seeds of decay in preference to Schiller and Goethe, most of all the latter; and everyone seeks Goethe's authority, as if he were one of them. Nevertheless it is certain that salvation for All-Europe, in a spiritual sense, can only come from a return to the common ground of Schiller-Goethe and Byron-Shakespeare truthfully expounded. Only these four can stand spiritual godfathers at the unification of Europe. All other spirits anywhere, be they never so mobile and adroit, are too narrow and too small.

My Lord Archbishop, these are the words I felt compelled and have taken the liberty to add on behalf of my fellow-Germans to my unsolicited reply to Your Grace, in order that I might not have a share in those misunderstandings which a stubborn and distressful propaganda is constantly renewing and intensifying.

As a dying echo of all that I have written let me leave with you the words of the Frenchman, Jules Romains. When he was awarded a Doctor's degree, *Honoris Causa*, by the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich in 1948, he said in the course of his speech:

"At this moment we are none of us concerned with vainly blaming the past. The past is done with. We have no time to lose. For the greatest question we are confronted with is this: will our civilisation survive or will it perish? Everything else is secondary. We must construct Europe as a corporate body... Only an ordered Europe can surmount and clarify the menacing situation "between two blocks". America which I know well—I have lived there—will gather fresh hope and will support us with all her might and main if Europe is formed. The youth of Europe must undertake a revolution—not an old stlye political and social revolution as in the nineteenth century— it must revolutionize humanity. . ."

### III.

My Lord Archbishop,

WHEN, in the Christmas month of 1945, deeply moved by the reading of your broadcast address to us Germans, I made up my mind to answer it in accordance with the motto "*Manifestare ea quae sunt, sicut sunt*" I little dreamed that year after year would drag on without a chance for me, as a German, to publish in my own country as freely as you a German reply and a statement of the German case for the world and my own people to read.

Admittedly it would have been possible for me to print and publish my reply abroad, but it seemed to me that to do so would be a back-door approach to my reading and listening public, unworthy in more senses than one.

Then what authority had I for my self-appointed mission?

I am not the spokesman of any party, I am not the spokesman of any state, I am not the spokesman of any artificial economic association or trades union; I am neither actuated by personal rancour nor have I any personal grudge. My motives are neither profit nor envy nor vindication nor political ambition.

But I come from a stock which has bred the Dürers, the Luthers, the Bachs, Frederick the Great, Beethoven, Goethe, Bismarck, Röntgen and Planck and the many medical benefactors of mankind, and I belong to a race from whose stock most nations have taken their ruling houses. I am sprung from the Central European soil with its 'scorched earth' and its forests which once regulated the rainfall, and have been of late so greatly misused. I come from a people that has had to suffer even greater restrictions of its natural endowments.

In order to explain what made me undertake the task of writing this book, I must add that I spent almost fifteen years in England and in the British Colonies.

Is it fitting that anyone who has had such opportunities and such a heritage should use the back door when he claims the right to speak?

Yet the front door has remained dishearteningly and compulsorily closed.

My Lord Archbishop,

During the time in which my German, and at the same time European, manifesto to Your Grace has bided its time under the ban imposed upon free speech, I have observed with steadily growing alarm the effects of the incessant, habitual and apparently unpreventable "soul-murder" practised on the German nation. I have watched the piecemeal effacement by artificial means of that "substance" of the German national character which was still present in 1945.

My Lord Archbishop,

To perceive this and to hold my tongue was guilty silence. Unable any longer to suffer this reproach, I at last came forward for those who wanted to hear me speak with a lecture *My European Avowal*.

I know that I am no orator; I am aware that I lack the powers of a sharp-wittedness, of practical cleverness and of an incisive will. I have, on the other hand, been granted an extensive experience both inside and outside Europe. I have had the advantage of both a German and an English education. My parents kept open house to all the world, my father was a man of inflexible integrity, my mother a woman of passionate warmth of heart; both my parents were always in all things equally liberal and steadfast.

In this lecture I endeavoured to show that we Europeans had for the last fifty years been living, one and all, in a changing epoch of man and of history the nature of which had been unintentionally, but also sometimes wilfully misunderstood. The short-sighted question of guilt had no meaning anywhere, but it was essential everywhere in investigate, ruthlessly and uncompromisingly, the causes, and without hatred to lay them bare.



And I endeavoured to show that state-nationalism and state and party-political and economic careerists had stood in the way of progress towards the new and still artificially befogged realities; and that these two factors hindered the human race from the realisation of the thought and constructiveness of the best minds: "Europe" and "Humanism" and all that these words mean, intellectually and spiritually.

It seemed to me that I was only following the footsteps of St. John the Divine; "I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away."

*(Revelation, xxi, 1.)*

At the same time I thought I might help to kindle a fresh hope and find a new outlook, in so far as my voice could reach them and be heard, for my people in their desperation and the nihilism into which they were fast being driven by the policy of "soul-murder" perversely committed on the German national spirit.

My Lord Archbishop,

As an example of the, to me amazing, echo meanwhile awakened by my lecture, I should like to give here the full text of one of the letters I received. This letter, it seems to me, permits a peculiarly deep insight into what is going on in the minds and hearts of the best of my compatriots as a result of their experiences since 1945.

The first time I heard from the writer of this letter was fifteen years ago, when I was able to oblige his mother and be of some service to him in a purely professional matter. He took up teaching as a career and soon, under the compulsion of the time, became a soldier and an officer. He was taken prisoner and returned home to find his home destroyed by bombs. In order to live he worked for a time as a common labourer in the ruined city of Kiel and then as an undergardener in the province of Hanover. When starvation had undermined his physical strength he obtained a job with the foreign occupation forces in a western town, but not the permission to take with him his wife and two children with whom he had meanwhile been reunited. In all the intervening fifteen years I had no news of him until I received this letter, dated March 1949. On the fourth of that month he

wrote to me from a town on the western frontier.

"For some months I have had in my pocket a letter to you which I have hesitated to post. I have just read a disgusting article in the Hanover SPD paper raging against your lecture. I was delighted to learn that you are still alive and that all the depressing influences of recent years have not impaired your courage. I regret that I have come across no mention of your "Avowal" other than this odious diatribe which at all events allowed me to guess that you have remained true to yourself as the anonymous author of the article speaks of "the old beguiler".

So you are following in the footsteps of Cornelius Friebo<sup>1</sup>tt and going out among the people into the market place because ears are more ready to harken than eyes are to see.

Only one question worries me: do you still believe it is of any avail? Do you then refuse to believe that the hour of the white man has struck and that there is no possibility of stemming mass-mindedness and the erosion of our hearts? Have not we Germans suffered a thousandfold repetition of the fate of Cornelius Friebo<sup>1</sup>tt and do you wish it to befall you as well? And if so why and to what purpose?

The vision of the "white man" is so distorted and confused that he fails entirely to grasp the drama now being played out before his eyes. Smiling, the coloured world watches the white men killing each other off. There is no Idea which could unite the Western World. Neither culture, nor Christianity, not humanism; nothing, nothing. To speak of race is already a crime against humanity.

No, it is not our defeat in the war which makes me an unbeliever, but the utter incompetence of the white world to recognize even now the abyss which lies at our feet.

What urges you at the present time to make an avowal? Is it the determination to go down with colours flying or belief in the survival of the "white man"?

It is difficult to live without belief and I should be so very happy to believe if only I could...

To-day more than ever before I need a guide, for I feel that the experiences of the last years have left me with a grave spiritual sickness; and its clearest symptom is the hatred in me. But hatred is always the end. And, as it seems to me to-day, vengeance can be no final aim.

Can you therefore help me? I wish you could. I would not care how you do it."

My Lord Archbishop,

Of all the repercussions of my lecture this letter moved me most deeply because it summarized most concisely and impressively what is passing in the minds of young people whose

<sup>1</sup> The principal character of the author's novel '*Volk ohne Raum*'.

senses are still unblunted and who have not yet succumbed to mass-mindedness.

It was this letter which prompted me to add a third part to what I have written, wherein I reiterate my appeal to you as the shepherd of the British and Christian conscience.

My Lord Archbishop,

As you silently follow my words you may possibly silently object that the second part of this screed has more than adequately dealt with the worries and misgivings of my fellow-Germans, caused—disregarding their trampled pride—by their utter defencelessness, the ruin of their country, foreign coercion and the daily increasing difficulty of living.

You may ask if I wish to extend the list I drew up in Part II?

My Lord Archbishop, there would certainly be plenty of things to be added to that list. Some of them have even been noted with disapproval among the conservatives of Great Britain.

For example, the *Observer* wrote on 3 April 1949:

“In the last few weeks we have taken several steps which lead us directly away from our goal (to remake Germany as a state, to put her economically on her feet, and ultimately to make her a partner in the growing Union of the West)... The false steps we have taken are the petty annexations on Germany’s western frontier, the reported restriction of German ship-building to vessels of patently uneconomical size and speed, and, most serious of all, the refusal of the Military Governors to discuss with the German political leaders the controversial points in the draft constitution agreed on by the German Parliamentary Council at Bonn.

None of these moves can be justified, as the Ruhr Statute could be, by major considerations of long-term security. None of them gives us any advantage even remotely proportionate to the bitter ill-will they are bound to arouse in Germany. All of them mark a relapse into a crude victor-to-vanquished relationship.”

One might, for example, refer to the recent Nuremberg sentences, against which Leon W. Powers, one of the presiding American judges, lodged a public protest on 13 April 1949; whereupon, however, the deputy leader of the prosecution, Dr. Robert W. Kempner, who held high ministerial office in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior until 1932 thought it proper to add this rider, as reported by the *Neue Zeitung* of 16 April 1949: “This sentence is just and shows

the true culprits of the misery of Germany and the infamous deeds of the Nazi régime. With the promulgation of these sentences the period of penal measures is ended. Now everybody must work for the rehabilitation of a democratic Germany within the comity of nations. Nothing is more damaging to this work than the attempt of friends and accomplices of the War Criminals to whitewash the guilty with the assistance of Ribbentrop's hoarded gold and other sinister sources."

For example, a further reference would be required to the endless game of so-called "dismantling" and to the ban placed on German inventions wanted by foreign competitors: as, for instance, Buna and synthetic petrol and their production in the German Länder. And Your Grace is no doubt informed of the destruction, for quite incomprehensible reasons, in the last days of March 1949, of the great floating crane in Hamburg, with a lifting capacity of 350 tons, so far as I know, the largest in the world.

For example, allusion would have to be made to the slave-tax levied each month from every single German and, moreover, to the tax on all postal charges in the Western Zone, introduced by the decisions of Yalta, to pay for the Berlin fiasco.

For example, it would be necessary to mention the consternation caused by the apparent handing over of dismantled machinery to the Bolsheviks by the Western Powers regardless of the "cold war"; and in that connection one would have to give some expression to the amazement which greeted the rejection by Christopher Mayhew, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons on Wednesday, 1 December 1948, of the proposal of several members of parliament that the delivery of war potential material to the U.S.S.R. should be discontinued. According to a Dena-Reuter report, he added: "In their economical and commercial relations with Eastern European countries, His Majesty's Government are guided entirely by the balance of advantage to British interest."

For example, it would be necessary to dwell again and again on the occupation burdens which destroy our possibilities of recovery in a country which has been bled white. In



November 1948 the North Rhine-Westphalia province issued, in English and German, its sober report. This document catalogues, item by item, the increasing demands for living accommodation and commodities exacted from us which, to name only some trivial examples, include 1,000 toy electric railways, 8,000 fountain pens, 70 cameras, 5,568 men's, women's and children's bicycles, 3,555,435 bottles of Steinhäger<sup>1</sup>, 13,000 ladies escritaires, 20,500 boy's pullovers, 14,000 rubber drawers, 75,500 ladies' pullovers, 500 "Knirps" ladies' umbrellas, 217 air-travel suitcases, 3,600 wine coolers, *etcetera*. This factual published report suggests: "It is requested that consideration should be given to the question whether the use of the requisitioning procedure to obtain goods for individuals who do not belong to the occupation forces is reconcilable with the general principles of right which, in accordance with recognized international law, should be respected even in an occupied country."

For example, it would further be necessary to cite the proposal of the former French Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Bidault, in which, advocating a large scale policy of transportation of Germans to France where, it was assumed, they would consequently become Frenchmen, he said that it was "necessary to avert a permanent state of misery and overpopulation in Germany, the results of which might once again endanger the future of peace."

For example—to come to events which cannot be dismissed with a hard or scornful smile even by those who have been unaffected by them—it would be necessary to enumerate the Landsberg executions of condemned persons one to two years after the passing of their sentence; the ineffectual earnest protests of Bishop Wurm and Cardinal Frings; and the thoroughly evil and sinister Malmedy Affair.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Westphalian gin.

<sup>2</sup> *Public attention has been drawn even more strongly to the Malmedy Affair by the statement made to the American press on 20 May 1949 by the American Senator McCarthy. He said among other things, as reported in the Zeit of 2 June 1949:*

"I wish to make it clear that I can no longer participate with a clean conscience in the inquiry of the Senate Armed Services Committee investigating war crimes. I have attended the sessions since 16 April, 1949. I have been present at the hearings and have cross-

For example, some allusion would have to be made to the consternation at the incomprehensible reaffirmation by the leaders of the Western Powers of their readiness for peace, yes, and even for friendship with the Soviets in so far as the Soviet dictatorship is ready to make peaceful pacts for the future. In the event of the Bolsheviks accepting the olive branch and being willing to extend the solicited hand of friendship and to co-operate economically, then all of a sudden any concern about humanity and inhumanity, about the countless political and common crimes and about land-robbery and the violation of human rights—such acts have been cold-bloodedly perpetrated for the last thirty years in Russia without the excuse of dire necessity—would be taboo.

My Lord Archbishop,

I do not think that these examples of the treatment to which we still unblunted Germans have been subjected for four years, and which reflect an attitude towards us that has

examined witnesses. I have been convinced of several things. The Committee is not conducting its investigation honestly; it is not conscientious in its pursuit of the facts. As a practical attorney and as a judge of the district court of Wisconsin I am familiar with and respect the American system of justice. I believe that the world has expected a demonstration of American justice applicable even to our conquered enemies. Instead, Gestapo and GPU methods have been used. I have heard evidence of witnesses and seen documentary proofs which show that accused persons have been subjected to beatings and physical force in ways which could only have been discovered by diseased brains. They have been exposed to mock trials and executions, they have been threatened with the withdrawal of their families' ration cards, all of which methods the trial authorities justify as necessary for the creation of 'the right psychological atmosphere to procure confessions'. I am firmly convinced that innocent persons have in this way been brought into the 'right psychological atmosphere' are as likely as the guilty to confess and to admit everything and anything. I have no wish to see Nazi murderers set free. I wish only that the innocent should be protected... I accuse the Committee of seeking to 'whitewash' a disgraceful episode in the history of our glorious army. I accuse it of having justified an injustice which—committed by only a few members of the army—is nevertheless a reflection on the integrity of millions of men and women... If the United States allows such actions of small groups to go unpunished, then henceforth the whole world may criticize us and question our motives for all time."

now become habitual, constitute the "soul-murder" I have spoken of.

I have said that much of the outrageous and, to my mind, senseless treatment of the Germans is, to a large extent, met with a scornful smile, even by those of us who have been hardest hit and who lie prostrate and helpless under their masters' heel.

Over and over again I have noticed this hard and scornful smile, for the fatalism of the peculiarly protestant German is infinitely great.

But there are some things which no unbroken spirit among us will ever get used to, unless indeed our 'Germanity', our national mentality, became totally effaced.

These are, first, the habit of listening unheatedly to any argument as to whether the strategists of the Western Powers would have to withdraw their defence line from the Elbe to the Rhine or to behind the Alps and Pyrenees in the event of a Russian advance; and, secondly, a fettered, muzzled and defenceless acceptance of calumnation and contempt because of the false evidence of whosoever may have a mind to testify against us.

Regarding the first, My Lord Archbishop: there are over forty eight million people living in the Western Zone of Germany, if we consider it for once as separate from the East. Our own hideous experiences and the reports we constantly hear from American and British sources leave no doubt in our minds as to what will happen, in the event of a Bolshevik invasion, to the population exposed to their advance.

The research department of the Bethel Institute has made available statistics about two hundred women's camps in the U.S.S.R. Twenty-five thousand German women, according to this information, who served in the Women's Auxiliary Services and the Red Cross, are being held in these camps, besides 150,000 forcibly deported German women. On 20 February 1949 the Combat Group against Inhumanity published statistics according to which 130,000 people have died of starvation in the concentration camps of the Soviet Zone since 1945, and 25,000 prisoners from these camps and 70,000 from the prisons of the NKWD have been deported from Germany to labour camps in the U.S.S.R. In his book

*German Realities* the late Doctor of Political Science Gustav Stelper, who died in the United States, gives the number of Germans missing without trace since the capitulation, excluding war casualties and verified prisoners of war, as six million. The American Secretary of the Army, Kenneth Royall, told a press conference in Berlin on 27 December 1948 that two million Germans, women and children among them, were in forced labour camps in the U.S.S.R. This number did not include prisoners of war. In what is to-day called Poland there are still (in 1948) one million Germans, who were unable to make their escape when the Russians advanced, doing slave labour in forced labour camps. In Lodz the German women are fetched out on Sundays to clean the garbage cans. From our own experience, and from information obtained from the churches, we know that during the Russian advance which, thanks to Yalta, we were not allowed to halt, over a vast occupied area practically no female, from old women to children, escaped violation.

My Lord Archbishop, when we Germans therefore hear news of the strategic discussions of the Western Powers about the serious eventuality of a further Bolshevik advance towards the West, we know that, thanks to Yalta and Potsdam, we forty-eight million Germans can consider ourselves "written off", because the forty-eight millions of us cannot retire with you behind the Rhine or beyond the Alps or the Pyrenees; and once again the same fate will overtake our mothers and wives and daughters and our whole population as has befallen us in the East through—politics. It is our soil which will be "scorched" for good and all (and has not the preparation for this been going on for a long time?) and it is our culture, our special brand of European culture, which will finally be blown to smithereens; that is, whatever the bombing war may have left of it.

My Lord Archbishop, what human soul can bear such a prospect unperturbed?

And now as regards the second point, that other unwholesome occupation which has now become a habit as a result of the licence accorded to political windbags and irresponsible scribblers to vilify and libel the spiritually and physically fettered inhabitants of the German Every Man's and No



Man's Land; yes, and as a result of the fact that this continual mud-slinging, even where it has not a vestige of inner truth, not seldom masquerades as Christianity.

My Lord Archbishop,

When I first went to England as a young man and came under English influence, people were fond of explaining to me that there was one motto which the British infallibly respected: "Never kick a man when he is down."

As I listened politely I could not help thinking that the same principle obtained in my own home environment; but at the same time I found it very right and proper that the British, who as a nation had done more than any other to make the "white man" the master and pattern of the world, should repeatedly pay homage to it and quote it.

What has become of this principle to-day?

My Lord Archbishop, I have lying in front of me a cabled report from Washington, dated 8 April 1949. This cable reads:

"Bevin described the new three-Power agreement as a basis on which a new and democratic German Government might be brought back into the comity of nations. He said that if the Germans were wise they would accept it, because it was on their conscience that they had twice plunged the world into war and because three governments were nevertheless trying to help Germany to create a new and democratic Germany with which the peoples of Europe and the rest of the world could live in amity and trust! The agreement about the problem of Germany, Mr. Bevin said, marked an important turning-point in the history of the democratic world. The agreement has called for statecraft such as had hitherto been unknown in history and in the world. In their endeavour to reach a settlement of the German problem the three Powers had not been guided by the desire for revenge but by the desire to create a democratic Germany which might be able to come back as an important western partner into the comity of nations."

My Lord Archbishop, in the Sunday paper published in Hamburg on which the name of Bishop Lilje of Hanover appears as editor, on 23 February 1949, W. H. Wolsey, an official of the British Information Service and editor-in-chief of the re-educational periodical *Brücke*, at the invitation of the Sunday paper imparted his views on the causes of the reciprocal general ill-feeling which was allegedly gaining ground in the German Länder and in Great Britain.

I reproduce a few sentences of Mr. Wolsey's reply. Their isolation from their context does not change their meaning.

He begins: "Ask any German who has recently been to England, student or burgomaster, what his experience has been, not quite four years after the cessation of hostilities, in England." He then answers the question himself: "I believe I can say that to-day a German can feel more at his ease in an English public house and can move about with less interference than an Englishman can in a place where Germans meet."

He goes on to say: "Proportionately with the economic improvement in Western Germany—not without the energetic co-operation of the occupation authorities—the German apathy of the first post-war years is giving place to a growing German bumptiousness. At the same time an attitude of unhelpfulness towards the occupation authorities and criticism of their measures is becoming more and more common; attempts to get round the restrictions imposed on Germany are more frequent. In itself this is a very natural reaction. We have a very genuine understanding for it and are inclined to welcome it as a symptom of recovery. It seems, however, that in Germany a justifiable self-assurance and constructive, realistic criticism are all too easily perverted into a kind of inimical national defiance which puts in the wrong even those who believe that they are fighting for their just rights. To my mind, this shifting from the material to the emotional plane is a regrettable German weakness; it meets with all the less sympathy abroad because it is painfully reminiscent of similar errors in the past. The Germans must lay the first blame on this weakness, if what they are trying to feel and assert as patriotism gives a nationalistic and chauvinistic impression. Almost symbolical of this sort of destructive criticism is, in my view, the German tendency to regard the relationship of our two countries persistently and exclusively as one of a defeated nation to its conquerors (at all events in their utterances), and never as between aggressors and aggressed. If so many Germans did not overlook this sore point, they would begin to see a great many things in a different light and would thus spare themselves a great deal of false resentment."

Mr. Wolsey continues: "Closely bound up with this are the shrill and immoderate reactions of the German public to various measures now being carried through by the occupation authorities. It adopts an attitude (I do not wish to inquire here how far there is a deliberate object behind it) as if these measures, which are being applied only because we think they will strengthen Western Germany economically, had been newly decided on and were being introduced without due warning. It is forgotten on principle that things, such as the Ruhr Statute, the dismantlings, and the Military Security Board, were decided on and settled a long time ago—moreover in the majority of cases for security reasons well justified and also admitted by the Germans—and that the time has now arrived to put them into practice. That this moment happens to coincide with a period of economic revival in Germany is purely accidental; and it will be regarded abroad as extremely unfair if the Germans now allege that a fear of competition was the motive of these security measures."

"Economic rivalry between our two countries is admittedly another reason why the British people should show a certain mistrust of Germany. But that also ought to be seen in the proper perspective. No responsible thinking Englishman has any intention of retarding, artificially or by compulsion, the revival of German competition. That in no way corresponds to the British idea of competition which he looks upon as a constructive and incentive force and as inseparable from every healthy development of trade; and it is not compatible with the desire of the British to be able to discontinue at the earliest possible moment the subsidies they are paying for. There exists in England nevertheless a very natural anxiety lest the unnatural, and still to a great extent highly artificial, conditions prevailing in the economic life of Germany might also lead to an artificial rigging of prices which would enable the German to underbid their trade rivals in the world market. This would be considered unfair competition. This mistrust of certain interested groups—and this is what is decisive—has found no acceptance in official British policy."

"Naturally it does not make for the tranquillisation of a world which has every reason to be mistrustful when the

existence and the operation of ultra-nationalist influences once again reassert themselves, three years after the fall of National Socialism, that ugliest of all caricatures of German nationalism. Certain truly astonishing pronouncements by responsible German statesmen which indicate this illustrate what I mean. If the total impression given by German utterances were less intemperate one would, of course, dismiss political extravagances of this nature as mere marginal flourishes of no importance, such as extremists in every country are liable to indulge in. But at a time when to 'cock a snook' at the occupation has become virtually the fashion in Germany and when even leading politicians and political journalists, whether from opportunism or from lack of civil courage, soft pedal expressions of better understanding and willingness to understand in favour of a bravado meant to titillate the ears of the public and a future electorate—then it is often difficult for the most patient and well-intentioned foreigner to make distinctions. And that again has its repercussions on Germany. Believe me, the attitude adopted by a Burgomaster of Kiel turns even the opponents of dismantling into advocates of dismantling."

Then in conclusion: "First and foremost, your fellow-countrymen should develop a greater sense of realism in order to recognize the kernel of the ill-feeling in its true form. You should endeavour to see measures against which you instinctively rebel for what they really are: as logical and justified security precautions which the occupation authorities have taken after two wars of aggression launched by Germany."

"The recognition of this historical necessity will of itself induce a German attitude that will obliterate abroad, and certainly among us British, the memories and the bitter taste of the National Socialist epoch. Not only that. The more you acknowledge and fulfil your obligation to give security and the more constructive your co-operation in work and criticism, the sooner—that is in the nature of things—will you help to make illusory those measures which offend your national feelings."

That is what we read; and prostrate and defenceless we learn that we Germans have attacked Great Britain in two



wars and must now give security "realistically" at a time when Bolshevism is installed in Europe along our Elbe, and in Asia and in Shanghai.

But I will abstain from comments in this part of this book. Rather let whoever may read it try to see the "reality" as it is and as it appears to a fettered people who, already severely burned, still form the fire screen of the West against the greatest world conflagration of history.

My Lord Archbishop, on the 12 January 1949 the *Weekly Times*, under the heading "Anglo-German Relations" and sub-heading "Choice of Two Policies", published excerpts from two letters to the Editor. The writer of one of them was Victor Gollancz, the author of that unique book *Our Threatened Values*. This book would be unexceptionable, were it not that his honest Hebraism obscures his perception of the causes and the European potentialities of the early and genuine National Socialism.

This is what he said in his letter to the *Times*:

"The deterioration in Anglo-German relations is alarming. The Germans accuse us of a determination to keep them in a position of permanent helotry: we, who only recently were patting their backs for their conduct in Berlin, accuse them of arrogance, unreasonableness, resurgent nationalism, and 'gross impropriety' in their attitude to the occupying Power.

"They play with the idea of non-co-operation: whereupon we remind them of their past sins and their potentiality for future evil—which is the surest way of stiffening resistance. So once again the chance of reconciliation is being lost, and another nail is being driven into the coffin of European peace.

"Take the Ruhr agreement. I do not wish to discuss whether, given all the circumstances, it is or is not the best agreement that could be expected. But bear in mind that it is announced, not in the atmosphere of Morgenthau or even of Potsdam, but when we are proclaiming the ideal of a united Europe which, dropping sectional interests, would work harmoniously on a common plan for the benefit of all. Can the German reaction, then, be regarded as surprising?

"Six-Power control of the Ruhr, they say, is not a step to European unity but a stabilization of the statuses of conqueror and conquered: an earnest of the new spirit, they add, would be internationalization of the whole industrial complex of which the Ruhr is part. I said as much myself years ago, and so have others far more experienced. Why, then, 'rebuken' the Germans for agreeing with many quite sane Englishmen?

"...As to nationalism, there can be no doubt that a dangerous complex of emotions is rapidly developing among certain sections of the German people: I mean a determination to win for Germany, as quickly as possible, an equality of power and status, combined with a preoccupation with the part played by others in making post-war Germany a hell.

"The trouble is that we are poised midway between two policies: that of regarding the Germans as former and potential enemies and that of regarding them as friends. We, particularly the French and ourselves, must make up our minds—little time is left; and in the second policy alone is the way to health."

Below this letter from Victor Gollancz the *Times* prints a reply from a Mr. J. R. Christie. Christie's arguments seem to me characteristic of a man who, like so many, has no first-hand experience of the Germans, but passes on a smattering of knowledge gleaned from hearsay, the reading of propaganda and political speeches, the radio and half-digested information, as a judgment of the disarmed, puzzled and prostrate presumptive enemy.

This Mr. Christie informs the world, for the *Weekly Times* has a world-wide circulation:

"Mr. Gollancz bases his thesis on an interpretation of the German character to which I cannot subscribe. He assumes that the Germans will behave 'reasonably', using that word in its English sense—that is to say he believes that they will behave as we do. I consider that this conclusion is unfounded and that it ignores the lessons of at least a hundred years of German history.

"In effect he denies what I hold to be amply demonstrated by the evidence—that the works of such men as Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Fichte, and Treitschke were, and still are, representative of the German mental outlook; and that Bismarck and the advisers of William II in a limited degree, and Hitler to the fullest extent, expressed this outlook in political action.

"We have no evidence to justify the belief that the German conception of freedom and equality is other than it was for German Jewry from 1933, for Czechs and Slovaks in 1938, for Poles in 1939, and for the citizens of France and other occupied democratic countries between 1940 and 1944.

"Germany has produced men of democratic and international outlook, but has never regarded them as representative leaders of national thought. We are not justified in thinking that liberalism and pacifism will flourish among the Germans if we now free them from all constraints. German liberalism showed in 1948-1949 that it had no roots, and since then it has lost strength, not gained it.

"I would conclude that we and the other democratic peoples can accept the Germans as friends only on our interpretation of the terms

'reasonable', 'free' and 'equal', and therefore only under our tuition.

"Even were Western Federation speedily achieved, bringing in its train the internationalization of the whole west European industrial complex of which the Ruhr forms a part, German participation still could not rest on the basis of absolute freedom and equality."

My Lord Archbishop,

I have said that I wish to give examples of what is being spoken about the prostrate and fettered enemy. I will leave comment to my reader. Only after such quotations, the question arises: do writers like Mr. Christie have an inkling, and does the *Weekly Times* itself realize, what is actually, first and last, at stake? Do they grasp this, not to mention their knowledge or lack of knowledge of Germany and German history and the German mental outlook? Has Mr. Christie really read Schopenhauer and Nietzsche and Treitschke, and co-ordinated his readings of these writers or—does he know them only from hearsay?

I happen to have lying in front of me some back numbers of the *New York Times* of the first weeks of 1949. The 1 January number contains a special article by a Mr. James Reston. He begins by quoting a political strophe by the Dutch poet Jacob Cats which he found inscribed above the backstairs of the Netherlands Embassy in Washington.

"When the Hun is poor and down  
He's the humblest man in town.  
But when he climbs and holds the rod  
He smites his fellow man—and God."

To my knowledge the tasteful epithet "Hun" to designate the Germans was invented by Kipling and made current during the First World War by British anti-German propaganda; the insult did not remain uncontradicted even at that time in England. Mr. Reston, after quoting this prefatory doggerel proceeds:

"This is not precisely a new idea. Mr. Cats wrote it in the seventeenth century. Frenchmen living in 1870, 1914 and 1939 had good reason to believe it. Woodrow Wilson, Georges Clemenceau and David Lloyd George based the Versailles Treaty on it. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin wrote it into the Yalta Agreement. President Truman and Prime Minister Atlee recognized its truth at Potsdam."

Mr. Reston devotes the next part of his article to a con-

sideration of the discussions of the victorious powers about the German Ruhr. He arrives at the conclusion:

"... On one thing, however, there seems to be general agreement, not only in Washington and in Western Europe, but in the Soviet Union: The Germans are always either at your feet or at your throat, and while they are at your feet, plans must be made to discourage their persistent habit of revenge."

We learn from Mr. Reston's article that the French were made uneasy by another development in 1948 besides their dissatisfaction about the Ruhr; according to him,

"The Russians are arming the "police" of Eastern Germany, and the Western Germans are arguing that a rearmed Germany would bolster the defence of the West."

I hardly think it is a comment if I remind Mr. Reston and his fellow propagandists that the rumour of the advantage of rearming Germany was fabricated outside Germany in order to provide a fresh pretext for kicking the man who is down.

At the same time as Reston's article appeared in the *New York Times*, *Punch* printed a cartoon entitled "Double Panic". In the left foreground of this picture there is a huge demoniacal figure with the word "Communism" across his back while in the right foreground the ponderous figure of a Ruhr worker lumbers forward with a sack slung over his shoulder. On the sack are the words: Revival of German Power. With their faces half-turned towards them two tiny figures dressed in the conventional comic paper fashion as Uncle Sam and Marianne join hands in flight.<sup>1</sup>

In another January 1949 number of the *New York Times* I came across an article, again a "special", by a Mr. Drew Middleton. The article carries the caption: "Allies acting to curb German nationalism." The subtitle is "Security Boards will be on guard, but education is the basic need." This article informs the reader of the following decisions to curb our prostrate, muzzled and fettered people:

"The Military Security Board will be divided into three divisions—military, industrial and scientific research. Of the three the last will assume the greatest importance, for the vengeful Germans will turn to a perverted science for weapons to compensate for their inferiority in manpower should they ever try again for world domination.

<sup>1</sup> Cartoon by E. H. Shepard. *Punch*. 15 Dec. 1948.



"...These three formidable barriers against the resurgence of German militarism—the Military Security Board, Ruhr Authority and Occupation Statute—will be countered on the part of at least some Germans by growing nationalism. That can only be eliminated by education. The Allies resemble policemen who have taken matches away from a firebug and intend to see he doesn't get any more. They have not yet conquered the firebug's love of fires, however."

Another reporter of the *New York Times*, Edwin L. James, in the same month of January 1949, in an article entitled "The issue of Germany dominates diplomacy" gives his views on us prostrate, fettered and muzzled Germans. He writes, among other things:

"... Control of Germany is the key to European politics... The presence of American and British troops in Germany is a very big factor in the thinking of the peoples of West Europe. In France, Belgium, the Netherlands and in Italy, the fact that American and British troops are between them and the Russians means a lot.

"... It is fear which is holding back the recovery of West Europe, and the withdrawal of American and British troops from West Germany would surely cause a great increase in the fears of West Europe and perhaps ruin all prospects of the fruition of the Atlantic Pact plan and of the Marshall Plan.

"... The French fear, of course, the rebirth of strength in Germany. They also fear with a dreadful fear the power of the Russian Army, which they know could march to the Atlantic in less than a month.

"... Yet it is plain that eventually there must be a central German Government if a peace treaty is to be made with Germany as a whole. A united Germany, politically and economically, is further off than at any time since the end of hostilities."

In the English *Economist* of December 1948 we were permitted to encounter a similar conviction. There we "down and out" pawns of allied statecraft read:

"It is not Germany alone that people fear but the use Germany could make of a strong central position to manipulate the European balance of power in its own interests. A Western Germany which was strong enough to offer any real increase in security to Western Europe would also be strong enough to negotiate with Russia on its own terms. And nothing in Germany's past—neither the Treaty of Rapallo nor the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact—suggests that German loyalty to "Western ideals" is such that it excludes separate arrangements with the enemies of the West."

My Lord Archbishop,

Let me cite another English voice. At the beginning of January 1949 the *Manchester Guardian* dealt with the situation

in West Germany as it appeared to that paper. It thought it necessary to point out that the German parties hitherto allowed were, to an increasing extent, wooing those sections of the German people who were nationalistically inclined, and that they had demonstrated their unfitness to assume the responsibilities and to perform the tasks "entrusted" to them at Frankfurt and Bonn. The Allied authorities in West Germany, however, lacked what the German parties lacked: namely, a clearly defined and unequivocal policy. The *Manchester Guardian* ended its review of the situation with the sentence: "There consequently exists a state of uncertainty which gives the Germans grounds for false conjectures and encourages them to political manoeuvres."

I should like to round off these few spoken and written pronouncements on us down and outs with a marginal note from the *New York Times*. I only know this comment from a German translation; it was made in reference to the London conference about the Occupation Statute in January last (1949). The *New York Times* then wrote: "Whatever conditions may be finally laid down, it is clear that the new German government will not be sovereign but will be an instrument of the Allied Military Government." Unconditional security against a German 'aggression', said the paper, was one of the most important assumptions for a lasting European equilibrium.

My Lord Archbishop,

To these several political specimens of what I assert is the "soul murder", as I call it, of the defenceless, let me finally add one non-political sample. Among us and abroad, in Switzerland to be precise, a rumour is current that, by the decision of the Allied authorities in Germany, adultery committed with a member of the victorious occupation troops may not be admitted as grounds for divorce. This rumour has grown up out of the fact that a member of the occupation forces cannot be compelled to make a statement on oath in a German court of law.

My Lord Archbishop,

At the beginning of the third part of this book I quoted a letter written to me by a young German, because that

letter gives one an unusually deep insight into what is going on in the mind of the best type of German as a result of the experiences we have undergone since the unconditional surrender of the German army in May 1945.

I have spoken of my ever increasing alarm at the effect on the German people of the incessant goading by word and deed which I have called "soul-murder" and which is very thoughtlessly becoming a habit.

I have devoted a number of pages to citing widely-known instances of the way in which we are treated. I have endeavoured to make it clear that severe, but humanly understandable, retribution has its limits, and where it ceases to be even revenge on a defeated enemy and begins to be "soul-murder" committed against the defenceless.

Speaking not only as a German, but as one who still hopes for the salvation of Europe as the matrix of all man's most precious values, I have uttered a warning of the substantial spiritual loss caused since May 1945 to the German 'nationhood'.

My Lord Archbishop,

When the poet Goethe first made use of the newly conceived idea, or rather the newly coined term "nationhood" (*Volksheit*), he wrote in explanation: "We need in our language a word denoting the relation of nationhood to nation equivalent to that of childhood to child. The teacher must listen to the voice of childhood, not to the child; the legislator must hear the nationhood and not the nation. The former always speaks alike; it is sensible, constant, pure and true. The latter from sheer longing never knows what it longs for. . ."

Goethe who died in 1832 did not guess that even for the nationhoods of Europe a time would come when their inner certainty would begin to fade, and sensible, constant, pure and truthful speech, and above all thought, would be impaired by an indoctrinated spurious state-nationalism and by an indoctrinated political propaganda.

Meanwhile in blindness the disintegration of nationhoods, so dangerous for the survival of Europe, has begun, thanks to political blundering and the misdeeds of political careerists.

Apart from the East and what has been allowed to happen there, we Germans in the middle of Europe are the most affected by it.

My Lord Archbishop,

We have had among us a German Balt, a gifted psychiatrist, Dr. Eugen von Grosschopff. Few men can read the human soul so helpfully. During the war and the preceding revolutionary years this highly strung and sensitive man was unable to practice his great vocation as a healer. Among other things he has written a book *The Spiritual Treatment of Sick Persons; the Basic Principles and Problems of creative Psychotherapy*. It was intended not only for the medical profession, but also for government officials and scientists of all branches "whom it might concern". And should not *real* politicians be of the number?

The book has a chapter on the opening of inner resources of strength. It says:

"Man commonly draws his strength from the following sources:

1. from nature and his connection with it.
2. from the knowledge of an inner life task.
3. from the belief in the inner meaning and the inner serviceableness of all that happens.
4. from the belief in the rightness and the value of his own life task.
5. from his connection with his nation and from the assurance of the consequent earthly immortality of his species and of his aspirations.
6. from love and the consequent assurance of his own immortality, and therefore of the eternity of his being and of his desire.
7. from the fulfilment of duty which constantly renews for him his vital connection with his nation and with his society.
8. from the joy of doing and creating.
9. from his joy in the results and fruits of his work and of his love.
10. from art and from works of art which, generally and singly, are an inexhaustible source of strength and stimulation.
11. from sleep, the eternal regenerative source of all creation.

Of these eleven sources of strength seven—on closer examination I should say eight—are to-day denied people of German nationhood by the external machination of a wrong policy and its opportunist exponents. This means that the spiritual mechanism of German nationhood, and of the



German people in particular, is being forcibly put out of action and the supply of fresh spiritual strength appears to be cut off by an immense incomprehension and an immense clumsiness. For the three or four sources still left open are no longer sufficient to replenish spiritual vigour where such political blindness has already sapped our strength by material restrictions and narrow compression.

My Lord Archbishop,

I have lived with your compatriots long enough to know that many of them would still be apt to exclaim: "What concern of ours is a nihilism of your German 'nationhood'?" And what have we to do with this German notion of nationhood, even if it was first conceived by Goethe? If the Germans want to go to the devil altogether, that is their own business."

My Lord Archbishop,

It is the business of the British!

It is, to my mind, the business of the British, not because of the cogency for the genuinely religious of Jehovah's Old Testament question: "Where is Abel thy brother?"

It does, however, seem to me to be the business of the British because the fate of "Europe" and humanism, as the British and the Germans understand it, and consequently the fate of the still unimpaired and least decadent, materially strongest remaining European Power and nationhood, namely the British, is their concern.

My Lord Archbishop,

People in Great Britain have deluded themselves and have let themselves be deluded ever since 1895—this was discussed in Part I of this book—that the next enemy of England was Germany. Even before the building of the German navy and before the Kaiser William II's misconstrued telegram to the Boer President Kruger, the British began to talk one another into this conviction.

In 1896 propaganda took up the cry: *Germania est delenda*. The originator of this motto whose fatherhood is publicly demonstrable was Sir P. Chalmers Mitchell.

When this slogan was first propagated the predominant personalities at the Foreign Office were Sir Eyre Crowe,

Mallet and Tyrell. In his widely-read book *The First World War 1914-1918* Lieutenant-Colonel C. A. Repington wrote of those gentlemen; "They joined the Foreign Office between 1885 and 1893 and, with Carnock and Bertie, were the head and front of the anti-German party all along, vexed (says Repington) at our surrenders to Germany, and persuaded that Germany planned our ruin. Between them they made the German peril the central feature of our foreign policy."

Messrs. Eyre Crowe, Mallet and Tyrell were presently succeeded by the then Sir (now Lord) Robert Vansittart whose hate-obsessed book *Black Record, Germans Past and Present* is doubtless known to you; this savage libel has never been translated into German. On his retirement from Office, Sir Robert Vansittart was appointed permanent adviser on foreign affairs to the Crown.

After the men responsible for the security of Germany, with the Anglophil Admiral Tirpitz at their head, had heard the phrase '*Germaniam esse delendam*' openly spoken for the second time, the first German naval plans were elaborated for eventual defence.

1914 presented the occasion to strike the first great blow against the Germans, whom suggestion had conjured into England's greatest and most immediate presumptive enemy. The result was the First World War, the first "fratricidal war" of world historical importance.

The astute but innately insular and volatile British Prime Minister Lloyd George had, according to his latest admissions, serious and increasing misgivings about the terms which were to be imposed on the Germans for the conclusion of peace. He yielded, however, to the festering hatred in the British Foreign Office and to popular pressure for some kind of visible profit from the war and made further concessions to the blind, senile vindictiveness of the Frenchman Clemenceau. He said—one might conjecture in order to silence his own misgivings—to Lord Riddell at Versailles:

"The truth is, that we have got our way. We have got most of the things we set out to get. The German navy has been handed over, the German merchant shipping has been handed over, and the German colonies have been given up. One of our chief trade competitors has been seriously crippled..."

My Lord Archbishop, what was really achieved by the dictated terms of Versailles and by the propaganda which paved the way for them?

The imperial and royal house of Germany was removed.

The old German upper class which included the officers, Junkers, creative economic leaders and professional civil servants of the Prussian tradition, so often denounced by British propaganda and a certain perverse section of the British press, was successfully supplanted and ousted from the distinctive leadership of the German people, along with the special, intellectual old middle class with its natural probity.

The old upper class was replaced by parties and party politicians, by a specious and spurious democracy.

A preponderant influence was given to the mass and number, and in the new Germany, as contemporaneously in revolutionary Russia, Marxism got its great chance to destroy the traditions and institutions of a nation and of the nations, and to exchange them for the bubbles of intellectual bubble-blowers.

German Marxism might conceivably have had something more to show than mere agitation and froth and twaddle and a scrambling for positions, for many of its representatives certainly cherished idealistic beliefs, but the economic crisis forced its hand.

The Germans whose subsistence in their native country, already in 1910, depended on an area three times its size were deprived of the fruits of two thirds of this area. In addition vast regions of their native country were torn away which, with nine million inhabitants, were the most sparsely populated parts of the Reich and were consequently able to feed by their agricultural surplus six and a half million fellow-Germans. This economic effect of Versailles on the German people and on the potential growth of Marxism may be expressed in another way. One may say that, as a result of the dictated peace of Versailles, a larger number of Germans than ever before were denied the assurance of advancement by personal endeavour and the full development of their natural aptitudes without hindrance and frustration.

But how can Socialism and Democracy and Freedom blossom together and breed a new pedigree stock where

people are prevented by lack of space and opportunity from exploiting their own good gifts, and where they are reduced to eking out a living under constraint and in bitterness and envy?

During the First World War the great British Labour leader, E. D. Morel, published his book *Truth and the War*. This book contained the sentence I have previously quoted: "It is a moral, physical and strategic impossibility to bottle up an elemental force such as that which the German people incarnate. It simply cannot be done." Nevertheless, in the face of all Morel's warnings and also those of Macdonald and Ponsonby, the attempt was made at Versailles to bottle up the German people, morally, physically and strategically, because the witch-hunters were now persuaded that in the case of Germany they had not to deal with a divine and elemental force, but with the "misguided" fanaticism of brutalized human souls.

My Lord Archbishop,

What else was achieved by the dictated peace of Versailles and the preceding foreign propaganda against Germany?

Through the utter failure to understand the German Eastern question, a breach has been made in the European dam and the rear-guard which Prussia-Germany and German-Austria have held against the east for centuries. This happened although the First World War was quite evidently started by the assassination of the Austrian heir apparent at Sarajevo.

Poland was created a new state, and the artificial Polish frontier was drawn deep in German territory within four hour's distance from Berlin.

The Austrian Empire, to-day the pattern for a possible European federation, was torn asunder.

The artificial Czechoslovakia was founded and three million German Austrians, despite their earnest plea to be allowed to remain with the republic of Austria, were with their purely German Sudetenland knocked down to the future Czechoslovakia.

My Lord Archbishop,

Among you and in the rest of the outside world, and



even in Germany, the multiple endeavours which were made in the rump Germany to counteract by appropriate re-education the progressive physical and psychological consequences of Versailles have scarcely received the attention due to them.

What is known to-day of the Spartan invigoration of the various Youth Leagues, of the self-sacrifice of the Artamanen<sup>1</sup> movement? Or what is known of the fight put up by the Germans over the Ruhr against the old harrassing tactics tried again by the French.

You will, at all events, have heard of Count Brockdorff-Rantzau's gesture to Russia after he had refused to put his signature to the treaty of Versailles. You will have heard of the subsequent secret flirtation of the Reichswehr with Russia. At that time the Reichswehr with its military mind did not expect Bolshevism to last much longer, and its primary object was to obtain security against Poland and at least a readjustment in Germany's favour of Europe's and Germany's eastern defence line.

My Lord Archbishop, every one of these desperate attempts to counteract the physical and psychological consequences of Versailles by our own regeneration proved abortive.

The following sentence appeared in 1928 in *Die Kommenden*, a periodical widely read by young people with no party allegiances: "The fourteen year olds have no means of learning a trade; the workman who has served his apprenticeship receives his indentures with the invisible stamp "no means of livelihood"; the undergraduate hears only warnings against already overcrowded professions in which he can therefore find no employment; the graduate has the same hopeless prospects as the rest of them. Two million young Germans without means of subsistence or hopes of the future are under the age of twenty-five. What a national doom!" When I returned from South Africa in the same year, 1928, people with no political axe to grind bade me take a look at the moral and physical indiscipline in the big cities of Germany and observe how this laxity was being encouraged and aggravated by the cynicism and nihilism prevalent in our so-called instruments of culture and in modern literature and the theatre.

<sup>1</sup> League of agricultural volunteers.

My Lord Archbishop,

Among the many different movements of domestic re-education and regeneration by which the German people sought to counteract the physical and psychological consequences of the imposed conditions of Versailles towards the end of the twenties, there were two predominant. These were Communism, and the young, now completely misrepresented, National Socialism. Their aims were very different, but none the less similar.

The Communists desired an alliance with Soviet Russia with a view to removing what they called capitalism and all its influences, and Western capitalism in particular. Capitalism, to the majority of those who tagged along with the Communists, began with the possession of private property. They would have liked to own property themselves, but having none were determined that no one else should have what they had not. There were no doubts among the leaders and agitators of Communism, in addition to the ruthless self-seekers, tormented idealists who claimed a proper chance for a new human order in a new world. They wanted the root and branch removal of every sham, of every insincerity masquerading as morality so that man might at last achieve a happier earthly existence.

The majority of the adherents of the early National Socialist movement, on the other hand, were not actuated by envy or covetousness. The young National Socialism plainly perceived that humanity stood at the cross-roads; that a clear determination might yet achieve a better earthly life, just as indifference and drift might throw away the last chance of it for good. Not only the spokesmen, but also the rank and file of the young National Socialism—and this was equally true of Communism—demanded a thorough-going removal of every sham, compromise and insincerity masquerading as morality. The young National Socialism had no illusions of human equality; it demanded the constant recruitment of an elite which presupposed healthy bodies and healthy dauntless spirits, increasingly drawn from the whole collective nation. The young National Socialism demanded the full development of every man's good aptitudes and powers wherever they appeared.

Also the young National Socialism lacked patience. When have revolutionaries ever been patient? But there was no jingoism about it, and certainly no self-seeking. Characteristic of the preponderant majority was its sympathy for English ways and the hope of assimilating them. And that the best type of Englishmen felt that National Socialism, in its original conception and in its early effect on broad classes of Germany, was a sound discipline and akin to English ideas is made clear in his book by Lord Mottistone, a former British Minister of War, who set out unofficially in a sailing boat in order to get for himself a true picture of eastern Germany. The title of the book, as you know, is *Mayflower seeks the Truth*.

My Lord Archbishop,

The young, uncontaminated National Socialism, rooted at first in an unquestionable ethic, succeeded in a good many things which must have brought nearer the new dawn. It saved the awakening German people and along with it the tightly packed Central European masses from the great desertion to Communism, and that means from total mass-mindedness; and Europe has enjoyed the benefit to this day.

Otherwise, on the whole, National Socialism collapsed, in practice and subsequently in its ethics, because Versailles in ten years had done too much harm to the German people.

Directed by immature and erring leaders, no revolution could succeed as an overhasty reaction to the menace of the state nationalism which encircled us, and in the face of the formidable resistance of the profiteers and of Communism and nihilism.

My Lord Archbishop, I cannot rid myself of the conviction that there was latent in National Socialism in its early days a unique opportunity for Europe, and that it might have shown the way to the realization of a better earthly life, if Great Britain—jettisoning the anti-German superstition fostered since 1895—had proved the understanding friend and counsellor of the Third Reich, in the realization that, sooner or later, whatever happens to the Germans would affect Great Britain and vice versa.

My Lord Archbishop,

In Lord Mottistone's book to which I have alluded there is a chapter entitled "The Great Riddle of the Treaty of Versailles".

"I know, as an eye-witness of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, that this masterpiece of Cloud-cuckoo-land geography is a creation of the brain of Woodrow Wilson, the former President of the United States. Already then I thought it, and said so, that this solution of the problem of a direct connection of the newly-created Poland with the sea was so grotesque that it could not be justified in any possible way. I was, however, a person of little influence in the British delegation in which my business was only to safeguard the aviation interests of our country in the conclusion of peace. In any case, the decisions about Danzig were a compromise. President Wilson had intended to hand over the whole of East Prussia to Poland. If this had been done Germany would have surrendered to the newly-created State the historically most important part of her old territory, famous castles, magnificent churches, ancient families whose deeds left their mark in every country of Europe, but, above all, a tough, enterprising people of seamen, woodsmen, shepherds and peasantry who for centuries have endured tenaciously unruffled by victory or defeat, and have always been valiant soldiers.

There is a general conviction in East Prussia that it was Lloyd George who refused to agree to this surrender. Clemenceau was not interested, Orlando's attitude was one of indifference. Wilson insisted on his ideal, Lloyd George said: 'No'. I have no doubt that this view held by the inhabitants of East Prussia is correct, and the English Prime Minister saved Europe from a folly which would have changed world history and probably plunged Europe into chaos."

My Lord Archbishop,

I have at hand beside Lord Mottistone's book a German version of Mr. Winston Churchill's *The Second World War*, published in the *Neue Zeitung*. I read this sentence in chapter 18:

"Since 1911 more than a quarter of a century has passed and still mortal peril threatened us at the hands of the same nation. Once again defence of the rights of a weak state outraged and invaded by unprovoked aggression forced us to draw the sword. Once again we must fight for life and honour against all the might and fury of the valiant, disciplined and ruthless German race. Once again! So be it!"

My Lord Archbishop,

I only know the above extract from Mr. Churchill's book through the translation in the American *Neue Zeitung*. I



forbear to ask here the serious and inevitable question: "How far were Mr. Churchill and his policy responsible for that "Once again" which meant the Second World War and the second "fratricidal war" of history? We are now concerned with other and vital questions which face us in a dark and gloomy future.

My Lord Archbishop,

On 15 December 1944 the same Winston Churchill who is believed by many of your compatriots to have been the saviour of the British Empire and of the world from Hitlerism and the Nazis, and even from the Germans, made this statement:

"... I cannot accept the view that the arrangements which have to be proposed about the frontiers of the new Poland are not solid and satisfactory... The Poles are free, so far as Russia and Great Britain are concerned, to extend their territory, at the expense of Germany, to the West... This extension is of great importance and has the support of Great Britain and Russia. . . The transference of several millions of people would have to be effected from the East to the West or North, as well as the expulsion of the Germans—because that is what is proposed: the total expulsion of the Germans—from the area to be acquired by Poland in the West and North. For expulsion is the method which, so far as we have been able to see, will be the most satisfactory and lasting. . . Nor do I see why there should not be room in Germany for the German population of East Prussia and of the other territories I have mentioned."

On 27 February 1945 Churchill made this supplementary statement:

"... The three Powers have now agreed that Poland shall receive substantial accessions of territory both in the North and in the West. . . We need not fear that the task of holding these new lines will be too heavy for Poland, or that it will bring about another German revenge, or that it will, to use a conventional phrase, sow the seeds of future wars. We intend to take steps far more drastic and effective than those which followed the last war, because we know much more about the business, so as to render all offensive action by Germany utterly impossible for generations to come."

My Lord Archbishop,

Far be it from me to accuse or to incite. I have mentioned instances and quotations in order to draw attention to causes and to dispel the myth which has been so harmfully indoctrinated. My purpose is to help the solution of "Europe", while

and if it is still possible to salvage what your best minds and many among us understand by Europe and humanism.

The obstinate propagation of the myth of 1895 led Great Britain into a fratricidal war in 1914. It blinded her to the actual crisis of the world and the real threat to human values. It made possible the constructions of Versailles in that dictated peace which Lord Mottistone called "a masterpiece of cloud-cuckooland geography". The result of this masterpiece was the disappearance in Central Europe of an old upper class of unquestionable integrity. A further result was the rise of the initially healthy *internal* resistance movement: the early National Socialism. In an originally defensive fight against a general mass-mindedness and the several forces of the myth of 1895, the young National Socialist movement evolved into so-called Hitlerism with its increasingly desperate and barbarious methods. As a result of these desperate and barbarious methods the unwitting and the deliberate sponsors of the myth of 1895 and the many and various political and spiritual major culprits of the world were enabled to declare Germany World Enemy No. 1—in spite of the succession of events in Eastern Europe and in Asia and the irrational treatment meted out to Germany. The German people was made the general scapegoat. They were the wicked simpletons whom everybody was at liberty to rob and loot at pleasure and to spit upon according to his inclination and nature.

When, therefore, the Germans had become vermin to all the world there happened the very thing which Lord Mottistone once thought would, if such folly should come about, "change history" and "probably plunge Europe into chaos". But not only East Prussia and Memelland have been gambled away to Russia; East Germany, too, as far as the Oder and the Neisse has been surrendered to the Bolshevized Poles and the Sudetenland to the Bolshevized Czechs, and the Russians have advanced to the Elbe and the Thuringian forest.

My Lord Archbishop,

When the second fratricidal war was outwardly at an end even the British Empire—once the "greatest political creation of a divinely endowed human spirit and human will", through which the European spirit and humanism in its

Nordic, masterly assumption has been spread across the seas and round the globe—experienced the first widely visible consequences of the political myth of 1895, the first deeply incisive consequences of Versailles and the first consequences of long smouldering anti-Germanism.

Must I enumerate the consequences for England? It might sound as if I and other perspicacious Germans secretly exulted over them. It might give the false impression that I had ceased to cherish that conviction which I can never reiterate too often, that whatever happens to Great Britain also happens to us, and that whatever happens to Germany of course happens to Great Britain.

But, My Lord Archbishop, things are still happening. The trail of consequences is not yet ended. The great final reckoning still awaits us and Great Britain and Europe despite the assiduous silver-lining propaganda now (in May 1949) disseminated by the inveterately superficial, the complacent caucus of opportunists and the secretly guilty.

My Lord Archbishop,

I now put in evidence, out of the many letters addressed to me as an independent German writer, the second letter written by the same young German who bared his heart to me in the letter I quoted on a previous page.

This second letter was sent to me on 25 March 1949. After a few introductory words of thanks and answers to some questions I had put to him, the letter proceeds:

“I did my duty as a soldier and an officer in the war believing in our cause and with an ardent patriotism. The Americans disarmed me, the British put me in a prisoner-of-war camp in Munster where we were correctly and with an absurd arrogance transformed back into civilians. I underwent this process without undue distress because I was sustained by defiance and a clear conscience.

“My faith first began to waver when I tried to get back to my old civilian life. My home had been destroyed by bombs. I had been kicked out of my profession as a teacher. There I was, a bricklayer’s mate amid the ruins of Kiel, an under-gardener on the shore of the Steinhüfer Meer. My need of spiritual consolation grew with my physical debilitation.

“The whole grim farce was being played out exactly as I had foreseen. My views did not change, but I was assailed with violent doubts of the merits of our people. Yet on this point I think to-day more calmly.

"I have been unable to whip up enthusiasm for any movement or trend since 1945. To my mind everything rings hollow; it is all phrase-mongering.

"Because I refused to pass under the Caudine yoke of denazification I have been here since June 1948 employed as interpreter to the . . . unit. They asked no questions. They were interested only in my competence for the job and they fully appreciate good work and good behaviour.

"As I have up to now been unable to find accommodation I have been living all this time far away from my family which still lives in Schaumburg-Lippe. I have no other joy than my family, and separation comes very hard; yet I am so attached to it that, even if I am lonely, I am undismayed. So for weeks and months I have kept going on the few hours of happiness brought by brief visits to my home, in an environment where adultery and licentiousness appear to have become normal.

"In the life around me I see only lies and deceit and stupidity and crime and hypocrisy, most of all in politics. There have been times when I have wished that the chastening rod of Bolshevism might sting to wakefulness or else destroy this crazy West. Mass-mindedness is rising in every nation like water at the bottom of a well, yes, in every soul; and its political form is Bolshevism. If the West fails to realize this, then all the atom bombs are useless. Nor will their dollar bags or their ridiculous frontier palings be of any use. What, then, does this West, with its birth-control, its export psychosis, its frontier thefts and its denazification, imagine the Russians are? Above all the Bolsheviks know what they want. The West only knows what it does not want. Even Mindszenty once rejoiced when the Russian armies were sweeping forward further towards the west. And are we once again expected to save Churchill and company from the gratitude of Stalin with our lives? This man Churchill is already again falsifying the Europe-movement.

"Never before have I known the stupefying hate which first possessed me after the war! Kriemhild must have felt the same hatred when with Asiatic help she destroyed her kindred in the land of the Huns!

"And yet, dear Hans Grimm, on my sacred honour I am resolved once more to enter the lists for the sake of integrity. Only I cannot yet recover my faith; the poison has sunk too deep. . .

"My mother, whose lot for the last fifty years has been typical of the fate of Germany has been exhausted, physically and mentally, by all the misery she has suffered. She has neither the strength nor will to carry on. And this has embittered me most deeply and makes me keep asking what is the sense of everything. All her love, her courage and her incredible tenacity have not enabled her to avert her doom, because her need arose from her connection with her people. And Germany's need, of course, she could not avert. And we, the younger generation, who wanted to save us all from it have been made pariahs and proletarians."



My Lord Archbishop,

It is necessary that one should know that people are thinking such thoughts. The best young people of our race think in this tortured way. Those of us who have not yet in any sense let their German nationhood be contaminated and warped by all the tribulations of the German people, of Central Europe and, most hurtfully, of "Europe", due to hatred, dilettantism, fraud, self-deception and stupidity combined, think in a similar way.

My Lord Archbishop,

When, at the end of April 1949, the Associated Press held its annual meeting in the United States a message from General Lucius D. Clay was read by J. Wes. Gallagher, then manager of the A.P. office in Berlin. The pressman Gallagher had flown to America to attend this meeting. The report in the *New York Times* of 24 April 1949 bore this caption: "Germany in European Union would halt Reds, Clay holds". The sub-caption read: "In Message to A.P. meeting he urges Nation's Admission to halt Expansion". The correspondent Lawrence Resner begins his report with the words: "The inclusion of Germany in an association of Western European countries was advanced yesterday by General Lucius D. Clay . . . as the most effective way to end the threat of Communist expansion." Lawrence Resner continues: "Such an association not only would halt Communist expansion but make it difficult for the Communist front to remain intact."

By Germany in these quotations is meant the so-called Western Zones with the forty-eight million inhabitants, refugees, deportees and expulsees who are coralled there. By Communism and the "intact" Communist front is understood the Bolshevik steam-roller, which we who belong to the planned and determined West State "Germany" accepted as "half-free" into the so-called comity of Free Nations, are supposed to try to halt, for others and naturally also for ourselves.

My Lord Archbishop,

What is the basis for such a hope? Does it rest on developed facts or is it just wishful thinking and false constructions?

I will, partly repeating myself, immediately explain what I mean in this context by constructions.

The West State Germany, which has been decided on and is dependent on such fundamentally different aims and purposes, is a construction.

The parliamentarianism of this constructed state, together with its ostensible democracy and its ostensibly free expression of popular opinion even in internal affairs, is a construction.

In this constructed state only authorized parties are allowed (in 1949). In this constructed state eligibility and the right to vote are restricted. In this constructed state those who hold the Marxist creed have been given precedence together with the adherents of the more orthodox churches who on their part are progressively losing political ground because of the Churches' over-hasty political confession of German war-guilt. In this state there is (in 1949) no press able or allowed to give full expression to the voice of German nationhood.

In the constructed confederate Länder of this constructed state everything has been done and is being done to prevent the preservation of the upper class and the creation of a patriciate of free, honest and creative men who by their character and ability are exempt from dependency on the favour of others. For that is one result of the elimination of free enterprise by socialist measures, and that is one of the results of compulsory tax legislation, the compulsory housing regulations, the imposed export conditions, and that is one of the results of the indiscriminate destruction of the larger estates and of dictated punishment of those who agreed with the views of the early National Socialism, even where they were not tarred with active anti-Semitism or Hitlerism.

The constructed Bundesländer of this constructed state have not even unconditionally free scientists in their universities whose vocation and activity are alone dependent on great scientific ability and creative work, but they are also subject to political sanctions because of their present and past convictions.

Therefore the framework of the constructed, suzerain and ostensibly democratic West state of Germany is, for the time being, of a totalitarian state pattern such as has never before existed. We, the subjects of this political construction will

be dependent, in all our expressions and requirements of life and with all our innate possibilities, on the favour and approval of this state. We can earn our daily bread, but as spiritual nourishment we must take what we are given, and all our expressions of opinion will require the kind permission of the apparatus of the constructed state. And that unconditional promise of every true democracy and of all genuine personal freedom will once again be an illusion. More than ever we shall be denied the right, the opportunity and the protection due to every individual within the boundaries of his country fully to develop his good gifts and, independent of the favour or disfavour of a temporary government, to stand upright and unmolested on his own feet.

Can anybody really believe that Bolshevism will be halted if such an atmosphere prevails? This construction is no more of a barrier against Bolshevism than were the Red Mensheviks in Russia. And this construction prevents the formation of any new creative élite, for who counts as an élite the licensed spokesmen of a spreading mass-mindedness, who hold portfolios and flourish in the many ministries and offices of the government?

And for the youth of our people, who have not yet allowed all that has befallen us to impair and warp their German nationhood, there lies very little hope in this constructed state.

In arrant misunderstanding of their historical significance the sponsors of the new Germany have proposed that the colours, black, red and gold, should be readopted for the flag of this constructed state. These colours were chosen by the Burschenschaftlern of 1848 for a resurgent, free and united Reich embracing all the people of Central Europe. At that time a song was taken up by every German voice, the first verse of which runs:

“In Kümmeris und Dunkelheit,  
Da mussten wir sie bergen!  
Nun haben wir sie doch befreit,  
Befreit aus ihren Särgen!  
Ha, wie das blitzt und rauscht und rollt!  
Hurrah, du Schwarz, du Roth, du Gold!  
Pulver ist schwarz,  
Blut ist roth,  
Und golden lodert die Flamme!”

With the refrain after every verse: "Powder is black, blood is red, and golden shines the flame!"

To-day, even in a neutral foreign country, these colours have been given a different and depressing significance. A Swiss weekly, so it is said, published a cartoon of a black cleric, a modern Red party-member, and a golden finance tycoon.

Does the silent, aloof and still unbroken youth of Germany think any differently of these symbols after all that has happened to us? After all the deliberate and thoughtless "soul-murder" perpetrated on the German nationhood?

My Lord Archbishop,

Another, a greater conception is absolutely essential; one which will not jettison irretrievably the last chance for "Europe", for your people and my people, for the British nationhood and the German nationhood as the strongest and still least impaired forces of Europe.

When all is said and done, Bolshevism remains only a form of mass-mindedness and coincidentally it is the attempt to gain political power by promoting mass-mindedness.

My Lord Archbishop,

There is, I believe, a profound truth latent in the slightly adapted words of the writer Ernst Junger, taken from his book, *Der Arbeiter*, written in 1932. The remodelled sentence reads: "Germany is the vanguard of the attack which Life has launched against the modes of political life so far devised."

My Lord Archbishop,

It is in Germany that "Europe" will be retrieved or else gambled away for good, but the outcome no longer depends on our discernment.



#### IV.

My Lord Archbishop,  
The year 1950 has begun.

More than four years have elapsed since you made that appeal to the German people which ended with the words: "You must choose your ground of faith".

It will soon be five years since unconditional surrender was demanded by the victorious Allies from the German armies in the field and the last leaders of those armies, in the desperate extremity of their people, capitulated after the rejection by the Western Powers of a counter-offer to surrender unconditionally in the West while continuing to defend our country against the enemy advancing in the East.

It required the full lapse of these five years since the unconditional surrender of the German armies in the field before a publisher in Germany dared offer me, as a German, the chance to reply publicly to your public address to the Germans—as a German who still retained the impress of an English education and of English ways.

The serious-minded among my compatriots wherever I came in contact with them invariably agreed, and this was not a post-war phenomenon, that all over Europe an entirely new era had begun, which must be recognized, and that therefore the Latin apothegm *Ducunt fata volentem, nolentem trahunt* was the final writing on the wall for Europe's common action and inaction.

My serious-minded compatriots were also invariably convinced that those into whose hands we have been delivered by the unconditional surrender of our armies—to wit, the British and the Americans who are racially our nearest kith

and kin—have, and by no means only since Hitler, to the general detriment seen the essential nature of German problems in a false light; and that until the very last moment we must never give up trying to make ourselves understood, because the fate of all Europe is at stake.

But even though this conviction is held by earnest-minded Germans there is not one of them who has not to face the fact that, since the unconditional surrender of the army, he, with his wife and family and livelihood, belongs to a nation wide open to wrongful treatment; that, for all the many specious and even well-meant assurances we had been given, a last valid right and a last valid security was denied us in almost every sphere, including that of free speech.

As regards the denial of free speech in word and writing I, with my share of English education and mentality, thought differently, with the proviso that it was not abused subversively for propaganda, but was used for a clear exposition of the trend of a personal experience during a calamitous political era.

My objection was apt to be received with weary acquiescence. I was unable to contradict my friends when they replied: "Of course there is not such a thing as the Englishman and the Frenchman and the Italian and the Russian any more than there is the German. Such national generalizations have become customary in talk and politics. Such constructed species is the result of the actions of changing cabinets and what they periodically proclaim as the expression of the national will. And, in addition, the different changing Ministers of the various states concerned with us are unable to conduct affairs of infinite complexity spontaneously, but are dependent on an infinitely multifarious swarm of experts, consultants and advisers. And in the last analysis whatever such an adviser sanctions or vetoes, because of his personal opinion or propaganda prejudices or even of secret vindictiveness, appears to us struggling Germans as English or American or French or Dutch. And whether or not the decisions are necessarily at bottom English or American or French, etcetera, we are merely pawns and still have to regulate our conduct by them, and therefore, for example, also in the case of the publication of a book which might help to clear the air and

perhaps be of service to the salvation of "Europe" when the New Era is ever more impatiently knocking at the door."

My Lord Archbishop,

I set this down in anticipation of a possibly still existent threat to the publication of my delayed reply to your address.

Meanwhile it seems to me almost providential that the book has been held up until this year 1950 by sheer fear of its being banned and confiscated.

As a result it is no longer a picture of transient incidents such as are always likely to happen in the excitement following a protracted war. It now presents a "continuity", a continuity in the various evidences compiled, collected and fabricated against us and in the treatment of us Germans during the last five years which has profited nobody, nor will ever profit anybody, but has done harm, perhaps irremediably, to everyone.

My Lord Archbishop,

The time is past in which we Germans or the individual German could, had our conquerors wiped the slate clean and creatively set us an example, have chosen our own ground of faith on which to make a fresh start.

As the sands run out and the fate of Europe hangs in the balance, the German has had almost the last vestige of a national faith destroyed by the "continuity" of the political treatment he has been subjected to. He has had taken from him his faith in the absolutely law-abiding fellow, in sober, honest, and not plausible, fair-spoken people. And that was a faith—and in this you will presumably agree with me—which, beside faith in the Church, has been for centuries more evident in German nationhood than in the world in general. And that, to my mind at least, at all events means a solid piece of the foundation of what you and I both call "Europe".

My Lord Archbishop,

How has this come about?

• My Lord Archbishop, I make no indictment. I nowhere apportion blame. I seek only to uncover causes.

In the Frenchman Maurice Bardèche's book about Nuremberg I came across the sentence :

"We are living . . . on a falsification of history. A philosophy of this falsification has actually been invented. It consists in telling us that what we really are has no significance whatever, and that the only thing that counts is the picture others have made of us."

My Lord Archbishop,

It seems to me that we are here given the key to all that has been brought about by the policy of state nationalism and its often very dishonest informants and by the obstinate continuance of that policy; whereby the great idea of "Europe" grows fainter every day while the chance of a fresh start inexorably recedes, and while among us Germans our faith in the sober and honest, rather than the fair-spoken, has in the last five years ebbed steadily day after day.

My Lord Archbishop,

What, then, is the picture you have made of us Germans and accepted as a valid basis for your policy towards us, and which first made its impact on the relations of our two countries—oh, the time is not so long—less than sixty years ago?

A whole book could be written about this picture and its synthesis. But I must not dwell upon it. I must needs be brief. And here I must be content to quote two English statements by English politicians who have played their part in forming British foreign policy.

One of them, Vansittart, was Undersecretary in the British Foreign Office in the twenties and the thirties, and therefore in this capacity represented a certain school of thought. After his retirement he was appointed permanent advisor to the Crown on foreign affairs and then raised to the peerage.

In the second year of the Second World War this therefore distinguished man wrote a pamphlet entitled *Black Record, Germans Past and Present*. In the year of its publication this book sold half a million copies. There are probably few books which have given vent to such inveterate hatred; a hatred for which, as it is revealed in certain passages of the book, it would not be difficult to find a Freudian interpretation.

I will quote the gist of Vansittart's pamphlet as it was summarized by the publisher Victor Gollancz in one of his own books which appeared in the same year 1941.



This summary is given on page 7 of *Shall our Children live or die?* and runs as follows:

"The main lines of Vansittarism will be familiar. Going back to a remote period of history, Lord Vansittart tells us, in effect, that it is overwhelmingly 'the Germans' who have been the curse of the world. For with the exception of a very small but ineffective minority, 'the Germans' in general have always been butchers or willing acquiescers in butchery: it is always 'the Germans', you are led to infer, who have been the aggressors—Black Record, in a review of 'history' from Julius Caesar to Hitler, makes no single mention of aggressors other than German, except for a passing reference to the Mongols of the thirteenth century: and the European wars of 1864, 1866 and 1870, the near-wars of 1905 and 1911, the war of 1914-1918, and the present war, are simply the culmination of a consistent German aggressiveness that goes back beyond the Christian era. Any differentiation between the German Government and the German people, or between Nazis and Germans, is, therefore, disastrous. 'He (Hitler) is the natural and continuous product of a breed which from the dawn of history has been predatory and bellicose.' It is in the innate evil of the 'German' character—the character of the German people as a whole—that the world's problem is to be found."

Let me supplement this summary of Vansittart's diatribe against the Germans and their constant aggressiveness through the centuries with a quotation from Mr. Eden. On 9 January 1942, Mr. Eden, then Foreign Secretary in the British War cabinet, enlightened his fellow-countrymen in the House of Commons in these words:

"The Nazi was not the animal to stay at home. He was not, and that was the fundamental trouble, not only with the Nazis but the Germans. It was part of their creed that they would not stay at home. The essence of the creed and the essence of the last hundred years was that they were aggressive animals."

In another book by the publisher Gollancz which appeared in 1946 and bears the title *Our Threatened Values* reference is again made to Vansittart's analysis of the German character and to Vansittart's predecessors and successors. There Gollancz writes on pages 88/89:

"I propose to say nothing at all about the first argument [that the Germans are militant and predatory, and will always make war unless they are forcibly prevented] because it is based on ignorance (at best) of psychology and science, and can be corrected in half an hour by reference to any text book of European or world history. Its prevalence is due, of course, to the infection of Nazi racialism."

In that, however, Gollancz is mistaken. That kind of talk about German militarism, about the German's predatory instincts and his desire to dominate, that argument which ignores the facts of history and the colours of the atlas of the world, became a propaganda cliché at the beginning of the century; and that was twenty-five years before the birth of National Socialism and before the misinterpreted racial doctrine became linked with National Socialism.

In 1941, in his book *Shall our Children live or die?* the publisher Gollancz, who formerly had strong Marxist-Communist leanings, gave his personal view of the causes of the Second World War. There he wrote:

(on page 13):

"... the war was unquestionably imperialist in its ultimate origin which means, as we shall see, that it arose out of the clash of competing monopoly capitalisms—this did not for a single second affect the following facts. First that, for historical reasons, we were economically on the defensive and Germany economically on the offensive: secondly that, as a result of her previous history, the German economic offensive had merged into a definite design to conquer the world, while we had no such ambitions: thirdly that, again for historical reasons, we were, in the political, social and to some extent economical senses, relatively progressive, while Germany was the very spearhead of facism, which is the vilest form of reaction and immorality that men have ever known: ... An imperialist war, yes: but one in which what were for the time being the more progressive forces were ranged against a regime which has spat upon the very idea of progress itself."

My Lord Archbishop,

To those fancy pictures of Germany which have been imposed on the British imagination for the last ten years let me add one recent picture. Authoritative heads of the British Foreign Office appear to think it a true one or, at any rate, useful as a practical assumption. We have read in the press that Mr. Bevin, as British Foreign Minister at the Conference of British Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in Colombo on 13 January 1950, in reviewing the developments in Western Europe made the following statement: "Many Germans are of the opinion that, in the event of the Russians overrunning Germany, 'the German genius' would very soon afterwards succeed in regaining the upper hand."

I did not see the English text of the mind-reader Bevin's Colombo speech, but some weeks before the British Foreign Minister made this pronouncement a British Colonel of the troops occupying a German town explained to a friend of mine at a tea party given in his honour that the enlightenment of Germans between the ages of twenty-five and thirty was regarded as a matter of the very greatest importance. It was just in these ages, he said, according to British information, that Germans were flirting with the idea of lining up with the East—a most alarming fact. To quote the Colonel's words: "All this is happening with that awful self-assurance peculiar to the Germans, in the belief that if Germany joined Russia in three years time the Germans would already be sitting in the Kremlin."

My Lord Archbishop, should I be very wrong if I correlate these two statements and attribute to them a common origin? Do they not conform to a mischievous whispering propaganda intended to make the Russians a little suspicious of the Germans?

As to Mr. Bevin and his adopted and adapted picture of the Germans, let me go back to the late autumn of 1949. In November of that year Messrs. Acheson, Bevin and Schuman met in Paris. The communiqué issued on 11 November 1949, signed by Mr. Bevin with the others, contains the following preamble: "Since both the great world wars spring from a militaristic spirit emanating from within Germany. . . ." When six days later the British House of Commons held a debate on foreign political questions, the 'historian' Bevin declared, according to German press reports, that he, as representative of Great Britain, had tried to the best of his ability—in spite of all his feelings which he could not disguise from the House—to be patient in dealing with the matter of Germany's admission to the Council of Europe. He was not sentimental, he said, and he did not think it wise to forget those who had suffered at German hands during the last *thirty* years. [The italics are mine.] "On the other hand", he added, "we want to pursue a policy which will result in integrating the German population with the rest of Europe in a manner that will be co-operative."

My Lord Archbishop,

When the First World War was brought to an end by the progressive exhaustion of the Germans, by Northcliffe's cleverly conducted propaganda, by Wilson's Fourteen Points with their promises which despite his good intention were never fulfilled, and by the German revolution, the English philosopher and savant, Bertrand Russell, gave the following explanation :

"Propaganda has taught us that Germany was the villain of the piece and we believed that the destruction of German militarism was equivalent to the extirpation of militarism altogether. Those who had lost sons or husbands in the war were with few exceptions misled by their grief into hatred of the Germans, not into hatred of war; and the placing of the sole blame for the war on Germany led to a wrong idea of the measures necessary to prevent another war. It was thought that, if only Germany were disarmed and impoverished, then everything would be all right. Such a tragic mistake will certainly be repeated if we win a second war against Germany, but in an even more pronounced form, because the war will have been still more horrible and because we shall jump to the conclusion that Germany was not sufficiently punished the last time."

My Lord Archbishop, by wayward indulgence in a political propaganda which does not bother about causes and does not recognize effects, state and business nationalism have hastened and are hastening the doom of Europe. Now and again, to be sure, there are lucid moments of perception that "political errors" have been made and are being made, but the discerning have stopped short of acknowledging them and acting. They have been immediately deterred by the indignant clamour of "political" gamblers. The first of such indications of a glimmering percipience was Neville Chamberlain's cautious hesitancy; this was at once furiously decried as "appeasement" of Hitler by propaganda in England and in other quarters, and still disparaged till this day.

I expect you know the biography of Charles Roden Buxton, written by his sister. She writes of her brother on page 157:

"... He supported Mr. Chamberlain as far as he went, but to Charlie the Prime Minister's policy of mere 'appeasement', of yielding concessions piecemeal, seemed so trivial and indeed so unworthy to be called a policy at all, that it hardly surprised him that Germany and Italy should not be taking it seriously. Giving way to vociferous demands was the last thing he wanted. Such



demands must be anticipated, and met with definite, properly thought-out proposals."

Lord Halifax likewise at that time had his moments of illumination, as when, in his well-known speech addressed to the Germans, he touched on the question of "living-space". He acted, of course, as if the desire for "living-space", which necessarily played a great part in the state nationalism and the state policy of every country—including Great Britain first and foremost—was an astonishing German discovery. Nevertheless he cautiously declared himself ready to discuss the problem.

My Lord Archbishop,

These flashes of illumination had no result.

What conclusions the German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop thought must be drawn from these gleams of enlightenment and the failure to implement them may be found recorded in the collection of captured documents from the archives of the German Foreign Ministry, published in July 1949 by the United States Department of State. In a memorandum of Ribbentrop's written at the end of 1937 is to be found this passage which I had to retranslate into German from the *Weekly Times* of 20 July 1949:

"... England and her Prime Minister, after the Halifax visit, in my opinion see no possible basis for an agreement with Germany ... England is preparing by political and military measures for a conflict with Germany. We must draw the following conclusions.

'Outwardly, continued understanding with England while simultaneously protecting the interests of our friends.

"Quiet but determined establishment of alliances against England, that is, in practice strengthening our friendship with Italy and Japan and in addition winning over all countries whose interests conform directly or indirectly with ours.

"I have worked for friendship with England for years, and nothing would make me happier than the possibility of its achievement. When I asked the Führer to send me to London I was sceptical about the likelihood of success, but, because of Edward VIII, it seemed that a final attempt should be made. To-day I no longer have any faith in any understanding. England does not desire in close proximity a paramount Germany, which would be a constant menace to the British Isles. On this she will fight.

"National Socialism, however, is thought capable of anything. Baldwin already apprehended this, and Edward VIII had to abdicate, since it was not certain whether, because of his views, he would co-operate in an anti-German policy.

"Chamberlain has now appointed Vansittart, our most important and toughest foe, to a position where he can play a leading role in the diplomatic game against Germany. Henceforth—regardless of what tactical interludes of conciliation may be attempted with regard to us—every day that our political calculations are not actuated by the fundamental idea that England is our most dangerous enemy, would be a gain for our enemies."

I should like to be allowed to say here in parenthesis that Ribbentrop's judgment was perhaps at fault when he concluded that by this appointment Chamberlain wished to give Vansittart fresh scope to exert his influence against Germany. To many people this appointment seemed rather to indicate a virtual dismissal.

My Lord Archbishop,

I know myself, from a conversation with the same Joachim von Ribbentrop, whom it was thought just to condemn to death by hanging in the name of the victors of the Second World War, that he (still more than Admiral von Tirpitz fifty years previously) long cherished the hope that the spiritually, physically and politically ailing and dishonest world might find a still possible salvation if the clear-sighted and willing elements in England and Germany could be brought to a clear recognition of the crisis in human affairs and its implications and would act together instead of aggravating one another. It seems to me that I owe this explanation to the dead man.

My Lord Archbishop,

Nothing has been done to dispel the old superstitious and suspicious fixation about Germany, the phobia complex first apparent fifty-five years ago. The old ignorance, the old misapprehensions, have been sedulously fostered. The First World War did nothing to change them. The Second World War has done nothing to change them. Nor have the successive moral declamations and political sentences.

And this obstinately-held fixation about Germany and the almost desperately persistent purblindness to the meaning of all that has happened inside Germany have inevitably induced a catastrophic blindness to the ever more instant menace of what is happening in the world.

It is this sort of blind perversity, spasmodically clung to by propaganda even to-day, that the Frenchman Maurice Bardèche, in his book *Nuremberg ou la Terre Promise*, seeks to explain by an "inner fear" immediately discernible in the Nuremberg Trials. He says:

"We must admit that the trial which is being conducted in Germany has a perfectly solid basis: fear! The spectacle of the ruins struck the conquerors with panic. The others must be proved wrong. This was essential when one reflected what the world would look like if the Germans were not the monsters one imagined them. Otherwise what a weight upon the conscience would those ruined cities be which had been rased by 'bomb-carpetts' and a myriad phosphorus bombs . . ."

But these hidden qualms of conscience are anything but general. In his heart the statesman who talks loudest and boldest may secretly acknowledge them, as it becomes more evident what irreplaceable treasures his recklessness has lost for his own country and for Europe.

But what do the "limpets" of politics and parties, who are shuffled and reshuffled in the various cabinets in all the different states and pride themselves on their share in the victory, know of qualms of conscience? Or that journalism which conducts its readers monotonously through the old "jungle of self-deceptions" in order to keep alive at any price the belief in the old propaganda bogey? Here is the testimony of that authority on international law, Professor Hans von Hentig, in a communication from America in February 1950:

"Still to-day, at this hour, the 'war correspondents' who remain in Germany assure us here in the United States of America that the Germans want nothing else but to play at soldiers, to strut about in a uniform, to do the goose-step, to obey implicitly the orders of a reactionary and nationalistic boss, and to quarrel with all the nations of the earth. This caricature of the German people is incessantly presented to the world and many believe in this travesty as they once believed in the native 'savagery' of the Indians, in the inner and outer slatternliness of the South Americans and in other fables which have been foisted on them."

It would, however, be one-sided to argue solely from assertions and opinions of American journalists. It will be sufficient, I think, to refer to the leading article which appeared in the weekly edition of *The Times* on 1 February 1950, entitled "West German Policy, Signs of Nationalism".

This leader plainly shows how blatantly, and incidentally how recklessly, it is thought permissible even by this great British newspaper to speak to, and of, the Germans; and how at the same time it is imagined that it is possible to play—with the expectation of success—a political game with the smashed and fettered Germany because these Germans are regarded as pawns in the game and nothing else.

Nevertheless, I must here make an admission. I do so not without bitterness. Our need, foreign political planners and multifarious re-educators, and, let us make no bones about it, hunger, have succeeded in temporarily exalting as seemingly valid representatives of our harrassed and bewildered nation specific types. They appear occasionally on the surface as spokesmen and penitents; some of them are psychopaths, and those of our critics who have not learnt anything from the past think they are justified in being guided by them in their intercourse with Germans.

My Lord Archbishop,

Side by side with the ambitious and swaggering psychopaths and a number of egoists who have slyly learnt to look after themselves and nothing else, those millions of Germans carry on who have been robbed of everything in the nature of an idea which might have lifted them out of the drab miasma of their existence. And with them we others who most resemble independent English Englishmen—and who notwithstanding have never succeeded in fifty-five years in making our voices heard by independent English Englishmen—trudge on with smarting eyes and hunger in our souls; we of whom, as of you, it may be said that a proper man needs for his sustenance the great conceptions and hopes which he has the right to cherish for his nation, and for its way of life and work.

My Lord Archbishop,

What benefit has there been in any sense since 1945 from the nostrums and experiments and operations and frustrations tried out on the Germans? Has there been any gain for Europe, or for the British Empire, or for France, or for the United States of America, or even for those many European Russians who in their heart of hearts resist compulsory Bol-



shevism? Or has it at last been recognized that we all stand at the cross-roads of history? Has it been recognized that the epoch of state nationalism is long since past, and that a stop must be put to the exploitation by political windbags and party careerists of the ignorance and stupidity of the masses? Has it been grasped that a new justice, shorn of fine phrases, must be found; and that not mere numbers, but knowledge and ability and practical achievement must be the determining factors of a future human community?

My Lord Archbishop, nothing has been accomplished and nothing set in motion by that policy which announced its programme first in 1895 and which, when it was given free scope in 1945, conjured up a bewilderment of conscience and a world peril such as never yet existed.

My Lord Archbishop,

I must now speak of the nostrums and experiments and operations which have been tried out on the Germans in the five years of our subjection. I know very well that the effects of these operations, "undoubtedly successful" in bewildering our nation, have been different in individual cases. But I know equally well that the collective result of this curative treatment has been to destroy everywhere good faith, and that it is incessantly going on destroying it.

My Lord Archbishop, I offer for your consideration, as I have done in earlier sections of this book, a random selection of examples as they occur to me. Now again I make no accusations, but, of course, if I were a prophet in the biblical meaning of the word I would cry these instances to heaven in the old monastery church close to my home.

My Lord Archbishop,

There is the bisection, after the severance of my motherland Austria, one might almost say the tripartition of our German nationhood. We owe this partition, as we have since learnt from the book *Decisions in Germany* by the former American Military Governor Clay, to the intervention of French cabinet nationalism. At Potsdam the French representative was not yet a party to the decision of the Western Allies to treat Germany as a unit, for at that time France was not yet ranked among the victorious Powers. In the later constituted Control

Commission, whose decisions it was agreed should be unanimous, the French representative used his right of veto to oppose the treatment of Germany as a unit. By this action French cabinet nationalism did no more than continue the seventeenth century policy of Richelieu. On American insistence the Bonn Republic was then constructed before a year was out, and the East Zone Germans, that is to say our brothers and our sisters, were delivered up to the Bolsheviks, body and soul. Here we now stand and wait for what may come; and over there a large slice of the European world, slowly but surely, rots in wretchedness and misery.

There has been, My Lord Archbishop, in these weeks of March in sight of all the world the robbery of the Saar; that is, of a rich and purely German region to which, for political purposes, the name Saar was given at the time of the dictated peace of Versailles. The game was kicked off by French state nationalism, by French economists who won over a German political careerist. When the first German protests made themselves heard we were told that the American Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Acheson, recommended us Germans not to forget that we were a defeated nation. And we were informed by the British press that the British government had finally decided that the Saar region should be politically separated from Germany, and that the process of incorporating the "Saarland" in the French economic sphere was to be carried out. The already mentioned leader in the *Weekly Times* of 1 February 1950 told us and the world: "For France the separation of the Saar from Germany is an essential condition of its security, and the German government would be wise to accept it in this light." The false reports about the Saar spread by propaganda in the United States were contradicted by the journalist Dorothy Thompson, who in the Second World War had certainly not proved herself a partisan of Germany, in a letter to the *New York Times* in which she wrote:

"The Saar has been German in population and German in sovereignty throughout the entire history of the valley except from 1801-1815 when it (along with the rest of Europe) was conquered and subjugated by Napoleon I and made part of his Confederation of the Rhine. As far back as the Roman period it was all occupied by Alamanni (German tribes) . . . Uninterruptedly after 1198 the

Saar, as part of Nassau, was within an independent and sovereign Duchy of Germany until Napoleon briefly redrew the map of Europe. It became part of Prussia in 1866, as a preface to the consolidation of the German Reich. . . The plebiscite of 1935, conducted under the observation of a League of Nations commission, was held in conformity with the Versailles Treaty and had nothing to do with Hitler's coming to power.

"The Saar is undisputedly German in population; it is German historically; it was German by self-determination in 1935. . . I am sure *The Times*, with its deserved reputation for accuracy, will not wish to have this question prejudiced by a misrepresentation of facts which can be obtained from any encyclopedia."

(Letter to the *New York Times*, 9 January, 1950.)

Dorothy Thompson was inspired to write this by her sense of justice. But in the seventeenth century the unnationalist Holy Roman Empire, torn by the Thirty Years War, was not able to prevent the rape of the German Elsass, with all its splendid German culture, by French state-nationalism; and no amount of argument will alter the fact that Europe has felt the consequences till this day. Is the Saar to be the same old story all over again? Yet here another difficult question is involved: Is the security which France, or rather her cabinet nationalism, contends is today essential really security from possible German aggression, and can such a preposterous clamour for security really be satisfied, as *The Times* appears to think, by the rape of the Saar or by the amputation of the Saar from the German body?' If that were so, how simple it would be to settle the world's problems!

But as a result of business nationalism and its policy, we are surely more than ever at sixes and sevens and no one stops to consider how any sort of confidence is impeded by pandering to the opportunism of business nationalism.

Then again, there has been, and is, the principle of the protection of legitimately acquired property, or if you prefer the communist jargon, the capitalist conception of property; a conception fundamental to the way of life which has hitherto been called Europe. But as far as the Germans are concerned, ever since 1945 the Western Allies, no less than the Russians, have accepted the principle that the military victory legalizes every kind of confiscation. And now news reaches us from here and there that property confiscated from Germans has actually ceased to be German property at all, and that a

decision has been or is being arrived at regarding the disposal of expropriated property by its new owners.

My Lord Archbishop, there is a dismantling policy, a game which is continuing in the face of various American resolutions (which have perhaps been misunderstood in Germany) and has provoked the riot in Salzgitter, and the protest demonstrations over the dismantling of the aluminium works at Pöging and the great dry dock Elbe II in the port of Hamburg. First and last, the pretext for the dismantlings is the presumed necessity to eliminate potential dangers which might arise from a resurrected Germany. There are not a few people among us, and I am one of them, who are convinced that the West is anxious to take precautions for every eventuality, so that in case the Bolsheviki thrust forward into Germany they may find no installations in the Western Zones which could in any way be used as arsenals, or a springboard for a further advance. The reflection, however, prompts the alternative question whether tens of thousands of desperate men and women who have been thrown out of work and prevented from recovery would not be a greater help to the invading Bolsheviki than any occasional and potential arsenals. And what is the object of the dismantlings which were, on the one hand, recently discontinued and, on the other hand, were superseded by prohibitions to resume production in the plants?

My Lord Archbishop, some mention must be made at this point of the rail order for Red China. This order was given to a German firm, but permission for its execution was refused to the Bonn government by the Western Allies and it was passed to a British firm, and then later—apparently after American intervention—the German firm was again allotted a share. Reference must be made to the satiric drama of the ban on German inventions. When during the First World War I wrote the story of a ludicrous incident which happened after the “conquest” of the open port of Lüderitzbucht in the then German South West Africa, I ended it by putting the following words into the mouth of a British African newspaper correspondent: “I think that after this war the Germans should be forbidden to make any more inventions”. Thirty years later this has actually happened in defeated Germany



under the Military Law No. 23, and in the fifth year of the foreign occupation the first mild sentence was passed on a German who made a new aircraft invention.

My Lord Archbishop, there is nothing intrinsically comic about the incidents, the dispiriting occurrences, which depress and irritate the perceptive and co-operative. They cannot be laughingly and contemptuously dismissed. In that category must be included what may be called the by hook or by crook endeavour to convict the generals. The gruesome sentence passed on Manstein, following those other sentences which preceded it, falls into this category. One must include the treatment of the aged General von Falkenhausen who for six years has been dragged from one prison (beginning with a concentration camp) to another, who was, admittedly, brought back to Germany to the deathbed of his wife but was not allowed to attend her funeral because, yes, because—so it was reported—it had not yet been possible to frame a water-tight indictment against him. The Swiss paper, the *St. Gallen Tagblatt* printed this fact in a report from Brussels in these words: "Jurists and experts are of the opinion that it is not a simple matter to bring Falkenhausen to trial." The fate of the Parachutist General Ramcke also falls in this category. He has been kept for five years in the Cherche-Midi prison in Paris in—so it is said—a more or less airless, sunless and unheated cell, because of the failure to get together a number of reliable witnesses against him sufficient to secure a conviction. And must we not also include the fate of Admiral Raeder in Spandau? Since sentence was passed on Raeder Lord Hankey has made known certain hitherto unknown facts in his book *Politics, Trials and Errors*, and in his speech in the House of Lords on 5 May 1949 in reference to the invasion of Norway. Lord Hankey declared: "If the judges in Nuremberg had obtained that evidence the judgment would have been different."<sup>1</sup> My Lord Archbishop, what has been done to draw the inference from Lord Hankey's revelations?

<sup>1</sup> The evidence Lord Hankey referred to was contained in Winston Churchill's *The Gathering Storm*. Lord Hankey said: "We actually did begin the planning of the first aggression—the mining of the Norwegian leads on April 8, criticized by the Norwegians—though by a very short head."

And, My Lord Archbishop, what has meanwhile been done about Landsberg? And what has been done about the Malmedy inquiry? May I add here "before God who sees and knows all that men do"? Among the prisoners of Landsberg are men sentenced to decades of imprisonment at the notorious, faked China trial. Why have they not, one and all, been provisionally released until this case has been honestly and ruthlessly cleared up? Men sentenced to death have been waiting for years in red jackets; some of them have been several times led out to the gallows, taken back to their cells and after an interval hanged. An officer from Wuppertal, the naval officer Erich Wenzel was one of them, although he and his family proved that he had no share in the deed of which he was accused. And why must Malmedy be hushed up and still kept shrouded in mystery? When a German periodical, published abroad, came out with an article describing "The Martyrdom of the Black Capuchins" the number containing the article, so I have been informed, was censored in Switzerland on the ground that it might give offence in foreign quarters.

And, My Lord Archbishop, how could that affair of Heligoland come about in February 1950? When German fishermen trying to find protection from a raging storm in the shelter of the island were fired at from British planes? Did this happen because aggressive acts by the Germans could be expected?

And, My Lord Archbishop, what is the explanation and what is the significance for the future of a united Europe, of the recent importation of Mongols as miners—vide Polish reports—into the coal mines of Upper Silesia which have always been German mines?

It may be said that Upper Silesia is a long way off from Wales and Cornwall. Oh yes, there are people who still think this a sufficient answer to my objection.

My Lord Archbishop,

I admit that this short selection of instances from an endlessly long list may have begun to irritate the reader; that it may alienate his sympathy and may even lead to a misunderstanding of the purpose of this book. My Lord Arch-

bishop, I also know, and I have already made this clear, that these few instances of a long list may have produced, and indeed have produced, quite different reactions among the bewildered Germans. But I am even more sure that the treatment of the Germans, dictated by state nationalism and business nationalism and carried through in blindness and hatred, has been an infinite mistake. This sort of cumulative poison has not only distorted the German mind; it has confused and bemused an unreflective world to such an extent that to this day it has not been able to see its common deadly peril through undeluded and unprejudiced eyes.

My Lord Archbishop, I also know, and there is no point in suppressing this knowledge, that in Great Britain—although, thanks to your traditions, race and destiny, it is still possible for honest people to lead their own lives—that fraternity whose fathers invented and handed on the anti-German myth is still at large. They think it their duty to pass judgment, in the name of humanity, on the cornered and consequently savage Germans, while at the same time they gladly forget this question of “humanity” in the case of the Bolsheviks and the atrocities committed by them, provided this Bolshevism would be ready to shake hands and enter into agreeable business relations. I am not concerned with this commercial class. I am concerned with your well-intentioned people who—even if they are themselves less immediately threatened than ourselves—ignoring Vansittart, Bevin and Churchill, anxiously read the real writing on the wall.

Because I believe in Europe, I want credence to be given to the well-intentioned among you, despite the London-inspired attitude towards us which has prevailed since 1895. This, and not to draw up an indictment, I have repeated often enough, is the primary purpose of this book.

My Lord Archbishop,

My list would not be complete without mention of three things which since 1945 have especially contributed to the cumulative poisoning of the Germans, and that includes Central Europe.

I must speak, first and foremost, of the so-called Denazification or Liberation Law, with regard to its predetermined

application and its effects. Whoever, in an evil hour, thought up this law laboured under a fundamental, though now common, misapprehension of things. It was conceived, whether consciously or unconsciously, in a spirit of hatred. Whether or not the inventor had, in addition, the warped intention to make the bewildered Germans still more bewildered for decades to come, I do not know. At all events this has been the most obvious effect of that elastic and lawless edict.

After a few knowledgeable people in America had recognized the infelicity of the whole denazification business it was to have been ended on 8 May 1948 with a full amnesty for lesser 'errants' and accessories to political error. "But"—the former Military Governor General Clay says in his book—"I held this program to be essential, and I knew that the responsible German officials wish it to be carried through to the end." Who these responsible German officials were we other Germans, who are not affected by the law, have no idea. It was whispered among us that the sponsors of this programme and those who pulled the strings were certain emigrants, certain members of the "licensed" press of the time and certain red politicians who had been appointed as our rulers. And at that time we did not know that in March 1948 the same General Clay had rejected the proposal of the U.S. Department of State for War that a commission should be set up to study the problem and to wind up the Nuremberg trials and the whole procedure of denazification. The chapter on denazification in General Clay's book concludes:

"On the whole German public opinion, particularly the Trades Unions, although they criticized the measures of individual tribunals, was in favour of the carrying out of the programme. German officials who were responsible for carrying it out adopted the same attitude."

I must here add that I have not had the opportunity to see General Clay's book in its original English text.

I now give a few examples of the way in which denazification and "liberation" have been carried out. I choose them from among those which came to my notice and appeared to me significant.



There is the non-political and deeply religious lyric poet Hermann Claudius, a former school-teacher, who in the twenties wrote the lovely poem full of longing, which was taken up by the whole Youth Movement, and which begins:

When we march side by side, and sing the old songs,  
And the forest takes up the echo, we feel we must succeed.  
For with us comes the new age.

In those days of the twenties, imbued with the spirit of comradeship, he thought it his duty to join the Socialist Party. He left it in 1932 because he was disgusted by what many of us call its "mandarinism". He could not make up his mind to join the National Socialist Party because he saw in it, too, the beginnings of mandarinism, and this and a growing antagonism to the church repelled him. For the occasion of Hitler's fiftieth birthday in 1939 he wrote with some reluctance the following verses which many disquieted believers regarded as a sincerely pious and admonitory prayer:

O Lord, befriend the Führer,  
That his work may be Thy work,  
And Thy work may be his,  
O Lord, befriend the Führer!  
O Lord, befriend us all  
That his work may be ours,  
That our work may be his—  
O Lord, befriend us all!

Because of the Hitler prayer and another poem wrongly attributed to him he had to get himself "denazified" after 1945 in order to be allowed to continue his God-given poetic vocation. He had to expiate his "crime" by payment, within a specified time, of taxes both on his income from his works and on his pension. The fact that he had left the Socialist Party was counted against him at the hearing of his case.

The second case is that of Dr. Hugenberg, at one time the leader of the German-National Party, i.e. the Conservative Party, in the Reichstag during the Weimar period. He never belonged to the Hitler Party. (I did not myself belong to the party-political adherents of Hugenberg—perhaps I should take the occasion to mention this—as I was of the opinion that the German people, stunned by Versailles, the destruction of our defence-line in the East, demagogic Marxism and the restriction of living-space, could not be successfully led by

the conservatives into the New Age which I so clearly perceived was dawning.) After 1945 Dr. Hugenberg was declared by the artificially concocted "public opinion" of that time to have helped Hitler into the saddle. He was removed from his home, ostensibly by "the British", together with near and distant relatives, and himself interned in a concentration camp. Proceedings against him were opened by the Public Prosecutor of the competent denazification court. In the course of the hearing the British authorities repeatedly emphasized that his internment had been undertaken only at the instance of Germans, and that the occupation power had had no interest whatever in placing him under arrest. It was also made patent at the first hearing, which was immediately adjourned, that the steps taken to indict Dr. Hugenberg were materially influenced by certain designs on Dr. Hugenberg's country estate. At a second hearing Dr. Hugenberg, who had meanwhile been transferred, with his wife, to a home for aged people, was classified in Group III "because he had been instrumental in helping Hitler to power and had promoted National Socialism". At the hearing of his appeal, thanks to the testimony of the former Reich's Chancellor, Dr. Brüning and of the ex-minister and expatriate Treviranus and other witnesses, the Denazification Appeal Commission in Detmold regraded Dr. Hugenberg in Group IV instead of Group III, thus classifying him without qualification as a fellow-traveller, and the costs of his appeal were fixed at one thousand D.M. The Special Commissioner for Denazification for the North Rhine district of Westphalia did not, however, concur in this decision. He overruled it on 3 December 1949, ordering that the Group IV classification should carry with it the sanction: 'may no longer take any active part in political life or hold any public office'. (Category IVc). The Special Commissioner gave, among other grounds for the revision of the verdict, the following explanation: "Measures taken to implement the Denazification Laws have the object of excluding from public offices and influential positions persons who have tolerated, furthered and influenced the rise and the continuance of the National Socialist régime. Hugenberg's political aims and the motives by which his party's policy was guided were certainly not the setting-up of a

National Socialist dictatorship. The success of his political activity, however, stands against him. In consideration of this success the application of the Denazification Laws is justified to the extent of the formal charges brought against him. According to the Control Commission's directive No. 24 these formal charges involve exclusion from public office and any position of leadership with a view to precluding the possibility of any person thus involved regaining an influence on political events or public life in Germany, the purpose of the Denazification Laws would be essentially achieved only by the classification of the accused in Group III. In consideration, however, of the age of the accused, this purpose would seem to be adequately achieved by his inclusion in Group IVc, with the reservation that Dr. Hugenberg is definitely exonerated from the charge of having been a "fellow traveller". This merits the due recognition which has been given it."

Thirdly, there is the case of the great epic and dramatic poet E. G. Kolbenheyer whose appeal has not yet (March 1950) come up for hearing. His greatest epic is the novel *Paracelsus*. This "novel" will outlive the centuries, along with the *Nibelungenlied*, *Parsival* and *Faust*, as one of the sublimest poetic works in the German tongue. Kolbenheyer has never in any way been concerned with state or business nationalism nor with the political life of the day. He has always been an entirely independent and individual thinker. All his great works, from the Spinoza novel to the mystical story of the middle ages *Das Gottgelobte Herz*, appeared before the Hitler era. Kolbenheyer is an Austrian by birth. He hails from Sudetenland, which until 1919 was for centuries a part of the old Austria and was forcibly incorporated in the artificially constructed Czechoslovak Republic after the Peace Treaty of St. Germain. When Hitler liberated the Sudetenland, in gratitude Kolbenheyer joined the National Socialist Party. He refrained, however, from any political participation in the party. When the List barracks in Munich were rebuilt and it was proposed that the building should have a memorial tablet bearing an inscription to record the fact that it was in these Bavarian barracks that the Austrian Hitler with tears in his eyes donned the German uniform as a volunteer in 1914,

Kolbenheyer was asked by the commanding officer to write a poem for the unveiling ceremony commemorating this event. Kolbenheyer delivered his plain and unimpeachable verses, just as Goethe delivered his occasional poems. He similarly complied with the request of a Reichs' ministry for a formal poem of congratulation on the Führer's fiftieth birthday. When in the course of the second World War those air attacks, which were called "bombing carpets", were made on the city of Munich, where Kolbenheyer had then taken up his residence, and when no longer only armament factories but also civilian lives, including women and children, were wiped out in this hideous form of slaughter, Kolbenheyer was asked by the Defence Service to write an article justifying the use of the V2, the employment of which as a weapon of retaliation was regarded by many opponents in Germany with abhorrence. At Kolbenheyer's first hearing under the Denazification Laws he was classified in Group II. Consequently the expiation imposed on him was: a hundred and eighty days special communal work to be performed within two years; the confiscation of fifty per cent. of his fortune, under which heading particular attention should be paid to real estate and furniture, none but the most necessary object of personal use to be left to the poet; a permanent prohibition to hold any public office; the loss of any legal claim to a pension or annuity; the loss of the right to vote or to the exercise of any political activity; the prohibition to belong to any Trades Union or professional association; the restriction of free movement; the prohibition to keep a motor-car; and finally the engagement for the next five years not to practice his vocation as a poet (which to a poet naturally means a divine vocation). Besides which he had to bear the costs of the proceedings, calculated on the basis of an approximately fourfold overvaluation of his assets. The president of the court, an ex-actor from Brno in Moravia, was not by race a German.

Fourthly there is the case of the seventy-five year old former chief of the Reich Labour Service, Hierl. I do not know Hierl personally. He was once, if I have been correctly informed, a colonel in the Bavarian regular army. In 1930, out of pure idealism, he gave his allegiance to the National Socialist Party, believing that National Socialism, as it then was,



offered the hope of a racial regeneration and self-discipline. This can only be regarded as a crime by those who misunderstand, or wish to misunderstand, the true character of National Socialism in its early days; and that means, to be quite frank, to misunderstand also the character of democracy. He then devoted all his energies to the Labour Service which was an undeniably wholesome attempt to regenerate the race and to dissipate class prejudice. The Central Appeal Chamber for North Würtemberg classified him in the major criminal group. As expiation it sentenced him to five years labour camp, fifteen years professional restriction and compulsory residence in a place with fewer than five thousand inhabitants, in order that his future professional activities might be more easily subject to control.

Fifthly, there is the case of Judge Dr. Gerhard Neithardt who had died as far back as 1941. He entered the party in 1933. In March 1950 the chief Denazification Court in Munich decreed the total confiscation of Dr. Neithardt's estate on the grounds that: "the late Judge Dr. Neithardt, as President of the Hitler Putsch trial in 1924, neglected to order the expulsion of Hitler from Germany, and thereby paved the way for the Nazis' rise to power. Had he been still alive he would have been classified in the category of major political offenders". A newspaper commented upon this declaration: "We can only conclude that it is posthumously required of a German judge that he should have foreseen already in 1924 the future importance of Hitler." Moreover, Hitler, as an Austrian national, was racially a German and, by service in the Bavarian army in the First World War, a German soldier, and earned distinction as such.

Allusion should also be made to the Denazification proceedings instituted against the wives of men hanged or sentenced to lengthy terms of imprisonment, against men returning from long years of searing captivity, against regular officers who only performed their duty, which, it seems, was a punishable offence, and to the efforts which have several times been made to reopen denazification proceedings against already acquitted persons.

Under the title "The Law of Internal Liberation", a level-headed correspondent addressed a letter to a well-known

Central German newspaper; a paper which, like the well-intentioned among you, wholeheartedly looks forward to a united Europe. I here summarize some excerpts from this letter :

"This Denazification, that is to say, the manner in which it has been administered and exploited, has been an outrage and a disgrace. For once this must be said quite openly. The tribunals were political tribunals intent upon exacting expiation from the allegedly guilty; they have often done nothing else but wreak vengeance on a defeated political opponent. There have been tribunals which derived their power from the conquerors, and on occasions sinister individuals appeared as accusers or judges who knew how to temper their elation under the mask of honest citizens. Among them there have also been many who were inspired by good intentions; but the law under which proceedings had been instituted compelled them to hold to the predetermined course. . . .

"No, the reckoning has not been settled. Millions of people who have committed no crime except that of being good patriots have been deprived of their rights, degraded, dispossessed and defamed by a small minority in such a way as has never happened before in history. In addition, there has been a desire to brand all patriots collectively as criminals, even though it was evident that the vast majority of them had not the smallest share in crimes committed. On this score no reproach can be made against the victorious powers, but it may be made against the Germans who . . . acquiesced—or remained silent.

"Denazification has created a mass resentment of vast dimensions. The millions who have been implicated, their children and their kith and kin, now harbour this resentment in their hearts, often unconsciously . . ."

Your Grace, I said further back that there were *three* additional facts which have specially contributed to the cumulative poisoning of the Germans and of Central Europe in recent years. I have dealt with Denazification.

This brings me secondly to the American High Commissioner's decree of 15 October 1949, which laid down that all Czechoslovak refugees who had fled or should flee from their homes in Czechoslovakia in the aftermath of the Prague February Revolution *must* be given shelter and cared for at German expense by the German Refugee Administration; whereas despoiled German refugees fleeing from the German territories occupied by the Poles—we shall return to this question—and from the Soviet Zone must despairingly sue for permission to remain in the Western Zone.

There has thus arisen an anomalous situation; in which the German Authorities have been compelled to take care of alien refugees while they have been forbidden to look after refugees of German nationality. A hundred thousand fleeing Czechoslovaks, Hungarians and Yugoslavs have been received in Bavaria alone. But in addition to this, something happened which stunned the whole German world. The former Austro-Germans who were expelled from the Sudetenland in 1945-6 identified among the refugee Czechoslovaks the Czech Frantisek Kroupa and the Czech Antonin Homolka. In 1945 Kroupa made himself burgomaster of Joachimstal and in this German town, according to the statements of the victims of his cruelty, under the name of 'executions' systematically tortured and murdered in the most revolting manner. Homolka has been charged with murdering a German innocently going about his business in Lobositz-an-der-Elbe on 9 May 1945, and of having attacked on the same day, in company with others, a wretched column of refugees from Silesia who were passing through the town, and of having hideously maltreated them. Statements were made by relatives of those who were bestially murdered, by victims of the assault and eye-witnesses of the occurrence. Yet, in spite of this testimony of serious German witnesses, the German police were prevented by the occupation force from arresting the guilty men and from investigating the truth of the charges in the same way as has been done in the case of every German who has even come under suspicion of having perpetrated a "war crime". The occupation force itself took no steps against the accused Czechs.

My Lord Archbishop, I now come to the third additional contributory factor in the rapidly cumulative poisoning of that good faith which is as persistently desired by you as it is by us.

Your Grace will remember that on an earlier page of this book I cited verbatim two statements by the versatile politician Churchill, in which he thought it opportune to announce the expulsion of the Germans from the Soviet-annexed territories and thereby the rasing of the East wall. I reproduce his declaration of 13 December, 1944:

" . . . I cannot accept the view that the arrangements which have to be proposed about the frontiers of the new Poland are not solid and satisfactory. . . The Poles are free, so far as Russia and Great Britain are concerned, to extend their territory, at the expense of Germany, to the West. . . This territorial expansion is of the highest importance and has the support of Great Britain and Russia. . . The transference of several millions of people would have to be effected from the East to the West or North, as well as the expulsion of the Germans—because that is what is proposed: the total expulsion of the Germans—from the area to be acquired by Poland in the West and North. For expulsion is the method which, so far as we have been able to see, will be the most satisfactory and lasting. . . Nor do I see why there should not be room in Germany for the German populations of East Prussia and of the other territories I have mentioned."

(Churchill in the House of Commons, 15 December 1944.)

In January of this year (1950) a Hamburg weekly paper wrote the following:

"At last permission has been granted for 45,000 Germans, who have been forced to remain in their German homeland under the oppression of the totalitarian Polish government, to immigrate into Western Germany. It has taken half a year for the Allied Commission to make up its mind to allow this transfer for which permission was refused by the British Military Government in July 1949. These 45,000, who have till now been vegetating as slaves, will therefore soon be able to breathe free air. . . They are not, however, the last. Yet another 300-400,000 fellow-sufferers still wait for their removal."

("Zeit" 5 January 1950.)

Now, in March 1950, a new misery exodus has begun. The concisest report of this refugee influx runs: "Germans who were delivered over by the Western Allies to the Poles and have been expelled from their homes are now arriving at the zonal frontiers. We are not allowed to take them in. There, at the frontier, these unfortunates now stand, derelict and carrying with them the few paltry possessions and chattels which they have been permitted to take with them from their lost homes. They have carried them all the way across Germany to the frontier created by the Western Allies and their former Eastern Allies, hoping to find a refuge where they will be permitted to live. And they are being met by German police who, on orders from the British, refuse them entry. . ."

The report continued more soberly: "The High Commissioners take the view that the Soviet-Polish administration



proposes to expel the whole of the German population remaining East of the Oder-Neisse line, estimated to number between two hundred and fifty and three hundred thousand persons. In November, as is known, the High Commission declared its readiness to admit only about 25,000 persons, such as had relatives in Western Germany, able and willing to accommodate and support them. The transports, however, which arrived at the zonal frontier on 3 March are said to be composed of migrants of various categories. It has not yet been possible to ascertain that any one of these migrants appears on the lists which were drawn up in pursuance of the edict published last November."

Your Grace,

When on a previous page I referred to the year 1950, the fifth year after your Appeal to the Germans, and tried to examine what has happened since, I quoted this illuminating sentence of the Frenchman Bardèche: "We are living . . . on a falsification of history. A philosophy of this falsification has actually been invented. It consists in telling us that what we really were has no significance whatever and that the only thing that counts is the picture others have made of us." It seemed to me that we were here given the key to all that has been brought about by the policy of state-nationalism and its often very dishonest informants and its obstinate followers; whereby the great conception of "Europe" grows fainter every day while the clock of doom ticks on, and while with us, the vanquished Germans, the belief in an existence of soberminded, honourable men who belong to the other side and who are not phrase-mongers has during the last five years ebbed steadily day after day.

My Lord Archbishop,

Again and again bewildered world opinion tries to convince itself that the gravest danger lies in war, in the menace of another "crusade" equipped with atomic weapons and planes, with V2s, tanks and U-boats which Marxist Asiatic-Russian Bolshevism is preparing against the "Europeanism" of the world. World opinion knows of the reply once given by Stalin to an American newspaper correspondent: "I do

not need to wage a war against Europe. Europe is disintegrating by itself." The public opinion of the world appears unwilling to recognize that the deadly epidemic of Bolshevism has no need of a war and 'crusade' in order to spread. All it needs is a spread of the mass-impregnation of the hearts and minds of the broken-spirited, hopeless and enslaved, who will then cease to be able to offer any resistance to political demagogues and their promises and threats. And what has been happening in Germany, My Lord Archbishop, has daily added to the number of those broken-spirited and hopeless hearts and minds, and lessened their immunity to the disease. And there are only two things which have so far prevented a general European infection. These are: first, the inveterate German propensity to protest and the inveterate tendency of the everlastingly questing German mind to thrash out its problems for itself; and, secondly, the experiences gathered during the Second World War by the German soldier in the U.S.S.R. and in its vassal states.

Your Grace,

On 8 September 1949 the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* published a letter by Vansittart repudiating the suggestion of an English parson, advocating the final cessation of dismantlings and pleading for a full reconciliation between England and Germany in the spirit of Christianity. Vansittart wrote:

"... The policy of concession has been tried throughout the centuries under various names—'appeasement' was the last—and has so far cost 50,000,000 lives. It takes two to make 'full reconciliation', indeed it takes more. Britain has been ruined by Germany, but even so is a minor sufferer compared with invaded countries. Our unreciprocated appeasement has therefore cost us confidence and affection in quarters where peace required both. More caution and concerted thinking are therefore advisable this time."

Thus, according to Vansittart, Germany has ruined England. The thought, and the very delicate admission of responsibility involved, that Europe has been reduced to the last extremity by the policy begun in London in 1895, does not occur to him; a policy conceived by a few in an overweening and suicidal morbid hatred and a complete misunderstanding of the already visible signs that a new chapter of history was opening. Great Britain has indubitably had

to pay a heavy price for this policy, and because of it "Europe" and Germany had been gravely imperilled.

But, My Lord, God in Heaven forbid that, as Vansittart asserts, Great Britain should be ruined. I say this as one whose loyalties are passionately German. I would still say it if 75% of all Englishmen had become infected with the disease of Vansittartism. But I am fully aware that Great Britain has certainly been hard hit, thanks to the policy to which she has allowed state- and business-nationalism to commit her. I realize the peril, not to say the obstacle to a possible salvation of "Europe", as all upright, sincere and clear-thinking people understand the term, presented by the crippling of Great Britain. And this understanding of the profound significance of Great Britain for the self-preservation of Europe is not a new thing which has only been brought home to us Germans in these desperate years when the foundering of "Europe" has become evident.

As proof, I should like to quote to you and to the readers of this book a German poem written in 1918 by our greatest ballad poetess, the East Prussian Agnes Miegel.

The ballad is entitled "England". In the poem the figure of the German at the beginning of the First World War appears to England. He addresses the figure of Britannia seated on the bank of the Thames, and Britannia replies. There follows a dialogue in which the same German, this time in defeat at the end of the First World War, again speaks to England without hatred and again receives an answer.

"O Virgin England, be not over-elated!

See how in my hand crown and sword are broken.

My hour had struck when my arm dropped.

Alien soil had drunk too deeply of my blood.

The doors of the East groaned—I saw them standing wide.

My feet were too weary to tread new roads.

Across the steppes there rides one whose name is Death,

His steed is named Hunger, his hound Woe; his scythe  
mows red.

His ravens, Fear and Darkness, fly before him.

Sister England, who will have my heritage?"

She sat by the Pool of London, she gazed across the sea.

A cry goes up through the night and darkness, a cry goes up in  
misery and woe.

"God's wind blew on the nations yonder till they scattered like the sand of the dunes—

When the night is passed and the storm has spent its force,  
who will stand where Germany stood?

Brother, the flood spreads across the world, it drowns your cries—  
The paths of the earth, the paths of the sea will be without  
you!

Yet when the waves meet above my last sunken keel,

Then the heart of the deep quakes because England fell.

Then from the Straits to the Channel the light of my beacons  
goes out.

The stars and stripes are torn down, the cross on St. Peter's  
breaks.

Then the sons of Central Europe grasp their staff of wandering

Then Canaan shakes off its chains,

Then God Himself cries from the roof of the world to the  
uttermost sea :

'Once again to-day the white man—then nevermore!'

My Lord Archbishop, as England was seen in 1918 in this ballad of great prophetic vision after and in spite of the German defeat then, most of us see her still; for all the Eyre Crowes, the Duff Coopers, the Vansittarts, the Edens, the Churchills and the Bevins the vision has not changed right up to the present day. On the contrary we know that whatever happens to England happens to Germany. But we also know that whatever happens to Germany happens to England, and that what happens to us both, Germany and England, happens to Europe and to the Europeanism of America. And, to revert to Your Grace's Appeal, that is at all events one item of faith which has guided and will continue to guide us for as long as it is in our power to testify for "Europe" and to defend "Europe".

Your Grace, I have no desire to round off this book with a pathetic or rhetorical peroration. If that were so, I could now write *finis*. Nevertheless there are sober considerations which have remained unmentioned, but, pleasant or unpleasant as they may be, these things must be said, now that the true understanding, the elucidation and the correction of fundamental causes has become an essential prelude to any successful progress along any new road.

Your Grace, in 1946 the late industrialist, Arnold Rechberg, whose name is widely known and who during and after the war of 1914-18 served with the rank of Captain on the staff



of the Guard Cavalry Rifle Corps, published a memorandum entitled "The Frustration of the Bolshevik attack on Europe after the First World War". This memorandum was sent to the French, and later to the Americans. Whether it afterwards reached England I do not know. I remember reading a brief disparaging comment in the American "*Neue Zeitung*" in 1946.

May I reproduce a part of this memorandum? It reads as follows:

"... During the last two years of the war of 1914-18 General Hoffmann, nominally subordinate to the C. in C. Prince Leopold of Bavaria, was in point of fact the commander of all the German armies operating in Russia. It was General Hoffmann who negotiated the armistice and the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. At the same time he recognized that Bolshevism was the worst danger which had ever menaced the civilized world. He was convinced that salvation for Europe and the whole world could only come from the union of the civilized nations against the peril which threatened them.

"At the end of the First World War General Hoffmann and I together worked out a plan for the close alliance of Great Britain, France and Germany. In view of the fact that German industry was, on the one hand, a very powerful competitor of British industry, while on the other hand, Germany was a preponderantly important purchaser of raw materials and finished goods from Great Britain, we proposed that Great Britain and France should jointly acquire a twenty three per cent share of the German key industries. Germany's purchasing power, so valuable to the British Empire, should however remain unimpaired, but at the same time German industrial competition should be made less objectionable to Great Britain. Such a participation in the German key-industries would have had the additional advantage of creating a situation where a fresh war, in which Great Britain and France should be opposed to Germany, could no longer have been prepared.

"We proposed that this interweaving of British, French and German essential industries should be guaranteed by the amalgamation of British, French and German military interests. Such an alliance, for which we hoped to obtain the financial backing of the United States, would give the great European nations a chance to recover their prosperity while, at the same time, becoming the most important markets for the products of America.

"This plan had the approval of General Ludendorff who was at that time regarded by German patriots at their leader.

"In the summer of 1919, the time when this plan was elaborated, while the armistice was still in force and before the peace terms had been settled, General Ludendorff, General Hoffmann, General von Oven, then officially Commander-in-Chief of all German troops

in Berlin and its environs, and myself, deputed by the C.O. of the Guards Cavalry Rifle Corps, opened negotiations with General Malcolm, the first British *chargé d'affaires* after the First World War, also with M. Haguenin and M. Hesnard, and later with General Nollet, who were the representatives of France. Gustav Noske, the German Minister of Defence and Matthias Erzberger, the German Secretary for State, were informed of these negotiations. They had not however the power to influence them in any way.

"Although the representatives of Great Britain and France approved of General Hoffmann's plan, the governments of the two countries were not at that time fully alive to the Bolshevik danger. In the first place, the British cabinet had only one thought after the First World War: to cripple German industries as competitors of the industry of Great Britain and to hold down the German nation in impotence for years to come. And so the treaty of Versailles was imposed upon the German democratic government. By the signature of this treaty democracy forfeited all respect in Germany though, it must be admitted, the German democratic government then in power had no alternative.

"On 5 March 1920, at an interview which took place in my presence and in my house in Berlin, General Ludendorff, by then almost completely discouraged, made a proposal to Lord Kilmarnock, then British *Chargé d'Affaires*, that Germany should become a British dominion and that the German-Prussian army . . . should swear allegiance to the King of England. But the British government did not accept General Ludendorff's honestly meant proposal. Thereupon General Ludendorff, General Hoffmann and I decided to publish interviews in the German, English and French press, and also later in the American press, with the purpose of presenting the true situation to the world. Many of these interviews attracted considerable attention. It was thus inevitable that the Hoffmann Plan should also come to the knowledge of the Kremlin. As a result the Kremlin then revised its tactics at that time."

Your Grace, I have done my best to point out on many pages of my reply to you, that as the logical outcome of the misconception and falsification of the German character and of German ambitions which started in 1895 the early, still uncontaminated National-Socialism was totally misunderstood in its origin and development. It was not noticed that this original National-Socialism held out to Europe possibilities of liberation from state-nationalism and demagogic business-nationalism, such as no previous European movement of the new age had offered.

I must with some reluctance also point out a certain misconception of the motives of the Austrian Hitler in so far as

these appear to be a continuation of the myth, cherished since 1895, that Germany in its hatred of England and its desire for political and economic domination maliciously aimed at the ruin of the British Empire.

My Lord Archbishop, if one discounts the natural handicap of Hitler's abnormality and his secretly deteriorating mental sickness, and of the opposition and precipitancy which drove him to insanity, to say nothing of propaganda fabrications, this humbly-born Austrian instilled into the German mind a guiding principle—which, he became more and more convinced, would save the Western world. The principle was that no stone must be left unturned to re-establish and consolidate the Eastern frontiers of Europe, and that everything must be done to avoid a provocation of British antagonism. He believed that unless the British superstitious fear of Germany were dispelled, and without the joint guaranty of England and Germany for the security of the West against the threat of Bolshevism, mass-mindedness and levelling down, there was no hope of preservation. Because he was convinced of this, he advocated the elimination from German political and economic aspirations of anything likely to foster the mistrust of England. The Reich must be held apart from England in order to be able eventually to become her ally. And furthermore, within Germany, the primary object should be to secure for every individual the chance to develop his talents and to obtain the full reward of his work by means of a readjustment of the living-space of Europe, for, in the last resort, it was only in this way that Bolshevism and Communism, and Marxism which gave birth to them, could be defeated. Only by this means would it be possible to preserve that essential factor of the Western way of life: the personality of the individual.

Part of this conception was his intuitive belief that the task of re-building Europe could no longer be left to posterity; that, unless a quick beginning were made and the foundations laid immediately, succeeding generations would be unable for decades to come to liberate themselves from insecurity, unrest and fear. Europe must be re-built *now* in order that the nations might then really be able to devote their whole energies to their peaceful tasks.

At this point I must repeat that I was never myself an adherent of Hitler. What attracted me to the Hitler of the early years was the fact that this man, for all his limitations as a Central European, seemed to me more and more to grasp that Germany's future was bound up with the destiny of England. For this reason I sought a private interview with Hitler. The chance was offered me in 1928. On that occasion the Hitler of those days said to me: "I have realized for years that somebody must come forward to grapple with the problem of Germany's and Europe's extremity. I have looked for this man in vain. Having failed to discover him, I have taken it upon myself to do the spade work, no more than the urgent preparatory work, for I am likewise aware that I am not the man. And I also know my limitations." Again and again, like a refrain, he reverted to the phrase: "I am not the man. I am only the man who acts because the other has not yet emerged. Because otherwise no one would devote himself to this imperative task and because we can afford to lose no more time in the face of what is continually occurring and in the making. I am not the man!"

Your Grace,

When the state and business nationalists of England, partially swayed by certain perverted German and international influences, decided in 1939, as in 1914, that it was necessary to turn against the German Reich, which after its conversion to democracy had in the interval replaced the Hohenzollern Kaiser by the Austrian Führer, Churchill thought fit to write in his memoirs the already quoted sentences:

"Since 1911 more than a quarter of a century has passed and still mortal peril threatened us at the hands of the same nation. Once again defence of the rights of a weak state outraged and invaded by unprovoked aggression forced us to draw the sword. Once again we must fight for life and honour against all the might and fury of the valiant, disciplined and ruthless German race. Once again! So be it!"

Great Britain's unexpected declaration of war staggered Hitler and his Foreign Minister even more than the declaration of war of 1914 had staggered the Reichs Chancellor Bethmann-Holweg. In the subsequent period Hitler



underwent a very gradual change of ideas, but up to the beginning of the war with Soviet Russia, they were always coloured by fresh hopes that England would change her attitude, implemented by repeated attempts at appeasement on Hitler's side in the hope of bringing this about.

Hitler went back to the old imperial idea, which existed from the time of Charlemagne until 1804.

There was no state or business nationalism about this old imperial idea. Admittedly in this empire the Germans were to enforce order, to be the paramount defenders and guardians of Europe's Eastern frontier, but under the protection of this empire, embracing a medley of different races, each nationality would have complete freedom to develop after its own fashion; the unifying idea being the conviction of Christianity carried over into everyday life, a revival of the Holy Roman Empire and the defence of Europe in the East.

To the continentally-minded Upper Austrian, i.e. East-German, Hitler, the German victories of the first phase of the Second World War seemed to make possible a revival of the old imperial idea. The new Empire might indeed make use of the Germans to maintain order. It would bring all Europe under one roof and, transcending all state and business nationalism, might offer a fresh opportunity for allied, freely developing nationalities to create a new community of men.

In place of the dogmatic Christianity of the Church, which in the course of two thousand years had regarded human happiness on earth and its ultimate assurance as secondary, Hitler envisaged as a unifying factor a common ideology which he thought could be evolved from his National Socialist ideology in contradiction to the ideas of Marxism.

My Lord Archbishop, as to the hope of a "Europe" to which many people of divergent opinions in many countries eagerly cling, it must be conceded that, though he grew more and more desperate, Hitler may reasonably have thought that part of his plan had temporarily succeeded. In the occupied border states of Germany there were many who had been won over to his plan, many who cannot be stigmatized by the word "collaborators", but who to some extent looked consciously beyond Hitler and his deeds of violence, and who, even in those dangerous and difficult days, put first and fore-

most the idea of "Europe", and were therefore not the men to shrink from the further demands of this idea.

In France alone, so we have been told, a hundred thousand 'collaborateurs', either killed or executed, lie buried under the sod, the majority of whom were certainly neither traitors to their country nor adherents of Hitler nor belonged to any Hitlerist party nor were what are to-day called (as distinct from honest National Socialists) Nazis.

Your Grace, a South American paper recently published an article by the Frenchman Marc Augier who, prior to 1939, was the moving spirit of the French Youth Movement and in 1942 enlisted in the French Volunteer Legion to fight against Boshevism. I have no personal knowledge of this Frenchman and champion of a Franco-German *rapprochement*, but his article seems to me to the purpose of this book. I quote from it, not in order to bolster up any argument of my own, but because of what lies ahead for all us Europeans.

**Marc Augier writes:**

"I was born in 1908. Consequently my early life was coloured by the Franco-German drama. In 1914 our fathers impressed upon us that the 'wicked Germany' must be punished. Germany was then a monarchy. My earliest childhood recollections are bound up with the sight of our soldiers leaving for the front in August 1914. When I had finished grammar school I was only very superficially interested in politics. The newspapers told me that in Germany the monarchy had been superseded by a democratic regime. This was not exactly 'wicked', but nevertheless suspected of wishing to make it difficult for the victors to digest their victory. . .

"I discovered Germany in 1929. I went there, with a little money in my pocket, travelling modestly on my motor-bicycle. I had an unforgettable reception, not by politicians who had an interest to make French propaganda, but by simple, ordinary people.

"In 1935 I gave the impetus to the foundation of a Youth Hostel Movement in France. It borrowed the ideas of the Westphalian teacher Schirman, and hoped to incorporate a great part of the French youth: 50,000 young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. Our political views? Understanding and friendship between the youth of all nations. So I organized trips to Germany. Every party which I sent across the Rhine was lost for war-propaganda; the movement, thus directed but not controlled by me, depended on organizations of the Left. In 1938 I was sent for by the chairman of the Youth Hostels committee. He told me: 'You are working to bring about more cordial relations between the French and German Youth Hostellers? Be careful. Have

nothing to do with Hitler Germany. That is the 'wicked Germany'. You would do better to send your youngsters to Scotland or to Denmark.' In spite of this warning I carried on my work until 1939. My last party crossed the Rhine in August, 1939.

"So then in the first half of the twentieth century the minds of our youth had been formed politically by the inculcation of an equally bad picture of three different Germanies: the monarchy, the democracy, and the Third Reich. We were warned against coming to an understanding with any one of them. . . I am unable to judge whether I could have got on with the monarchy, for I never knew it, but with both the others I always got on well. All the Germans I have come across have been valuable, industrious and disciplined people; they have always and everywhere offered to me the hand of welcome. I drew my conclusions from my own experience. . .

"I went further than this. In 1942 I found myself serving in the ranks under the most daring and revolutionary colours in our French history, namely those of the French Volunteer Legion enlisted to fight Bolshevism, in the field between Moscow and Smolensk, side by side with German soldiers in unforgettable comradeship. At last, for the first time, Frenchmen were no longer fighting Germans, but stood side by side with them in the fight which was deciding the freedom of both our countries.

"'God's judgment' was against us, but the judgment of history is beginning to recognize the grandeur of this fight. By erasing Germany from the map of sovereign nations, the 'Allies' have virtually erased Europe from the map of the world. The Allies have brought Bolshevism three hundred kilometres nearer to the frontier of France. . . That is the result of French policy against 'wicked' Germany. . .

"Without a reversal of this policy there will never be any salvation for Europe. Europe can be saved only by the recognition of the 'good' Germany. . ."

My Lord Archbishop,

We cannot doubt that many chances for Europe have been thrown away by the fatal active misunderstanding of Germany since 1895, and of the movement which developed in Germany as a consequence of this active and wilful misunderstanding, and finally by the partial misunderstanding of men who have endeavoured, sometimes by adequate means and again by methods utterly inadequate, to hold up the doom impending over Germany and Europe.

Thinking Germans were very seriously perturbed by the crisis in which humanity was involved, and they voiced their perturbation. When I made my contribution to the book

which was to be presented to the Führer on his fiftieth birthday in 1939 I wrote:

" . . . I think that very many Germans, and also both friends and foes abroad, regard the political phase which we are passing through mainly with the eyes of the old Cabinet nationalism.

"Something far bigger is however happening: there exists, below the surface, the will to create an entirely new human relationship and an entirely new and truer union with God. And it is for this that we Germans strive most fervently and with the deepest conviction.

"The old doctrines and tenets are not false, but they are no longer sufficient. Under the old doctrines and tenets the world has unwittingly got itself into a crazy mess: human hordes have risen and are rising, making the bewildered earth a hideous place and eating it bare. Actuated by a falsely conceived cabinet-nationalism, these hordes begrudge one another, as states, the life of their own nationhood, yet in a misinterpretation of the gospel they would like to regard every individual, whether healthy or sick, as sacred.

"The strong, secret yearning for a new human relationship and for a new, truer union with God rests on an elite rather than on the mass, and on the prerogative of the future elite, brought up soundly and straightly and imbued with sound and straight opinions and sentiments, which will not therefore lie for the sake of convenience and because a complete fulfilment seems to it impossible, but will be able to stand reverently face to face with Almighty God when it at last receives from Him the new law."

My Lord Archbishop, I know that very many thinking Germans thought as I did. These questions were not publicly discussed at that time. The danger, both in and outside Germany, of words being misheard, misquoted and misinterpreted was reckoned to be too great and was, in fact, too great.

But to-day, now that Europe is faced with the last chance of making its decision, is this question of Europe being unravelled ruthlessly and soberly before your compatriots with that freedom of speech which is essentially British and, outwardly at any rate, still the least constrained? Are you in England weighing the last opportunities which are still open to us continental Europeans, and in the last resort also to you in your island? For example, are you discussing that review of the problem, that attempt at a solution, which is set out in the recent English book "Alternative"—irrespective of its authorship—or is the book being hushed up for sinister



reasons, similar to those which are determined to perpetuate the misjudgment of all that has happened in Germany?

My Lord Archbishop,

On many pages of this book I have shown how in constantly new ways the good will and amenability which existed in all classes of the German people has been made recalcitrant, perplexed and cynical.

Only the other day (1950) the Swiss periodical *Tat*, published in Zurich, dealt with this vexed question:

"According to all the lessons of the past, Germany should be the ideal climate for the sprouting of resistance movements, sabotage, passive resistance and underground conspiracies. Some of these things there are, but they are feeble and contemptible. Because the foreigner looks for German nationalism as the "natural answer" to the events of recent years, he is driven to make a mountain out of every little symptomatic molehill in order not to have to admit that he is wrong and that he is puzzled by his mistake.

"He overlooks the real danger; the danger of a total loss of faith, of the lapse into a cynicism which denies any allegiance over and above private loyalties.

"Apathy raised to a level of a '*weltanschauung*' is exactly this. Many Germans, possibly a majority of them, have simply ceased to believe a word of anything they are told. Neither the seal of nationalism, nor of internationalism, nor of dictatorship, nor of democracy, has been imprinted on their minds. They discuss whether there will or will not be a war; whether Europe will or will not go Communist; but they discuss these things as if they were themselves no longer concerned in them."

The *Tat* is quite right, Your Grace, in naming as the real danger that we shall sink into a total loss of faith. But we are only losing our faith in those things and ideas which the Germans have encountered, and are still incessantly encountering, in the pattern—one cannot put it in any other way—of a monstrous tissue of lies, a monstrous policy of falsehood.

The latest blow is that the noble conception of "Europe" is beginning to be numbered amongst those ideas which have been vitiated by political lying.

All those among us who have not abandoned hope have clung desperately to the true conception of "Europe".

What do we understand by it?

Spiritually, we understand by it the common defence of all the wisdom and knowledge that has been garnered for the

benefit of all mankind by the best minds and spirits of all the European nationhoods.

We understand by it the prerogative of every free (within the limitation of his duty to his nationality), upright and creative personality over mass gibberish and equalitarianism.

We understand by it the right of every man to the full development of his talents, unhindered by artificial political and economic restrictions, and irrespective of his birth and origin.

We hoped that the creation of a state of Europe, of which naturally every true European would be a member, would put an end to the state-nationalism of the various countries which has flourished ever since the time of Louis XIV and has increasingly asserted itself to the detriment of humanity.

We looked forward to the disappearance, along with an obsolete state-nationalism, of those professional and party politicians who exploit the segregation of the nations for their own interest.

We hoped that, by its leadership of the nations in the great reformation in which Europe would be reborn, a real Democracy would win the highest respect instead of scorn: a democracy which would not be based on verbiage and ignorance and propaganda, and therefore not bound up with mass-mindedness, but a democracy which would build itself up on a foundation of practical achievement, ability, a thorough knowledge of things, experience and proved efficiency.

We thought that in the united Europe those political frontiers which state-nationalism has fooled about with ever more and more disgustingly and destructively as time went on would cease to be, in the same way as political frontiers in Switzerland, despite its different nationalities, disappeared after the Swiss Separatist War of 1847.

We thought that, after the obliteration of state national frontiers and consequently the end of the wretched and soul-destroying game of shifting them backwards and forwards, the national traits and traditions of the different European races who composed the common state of Europe would of set purpose be reverently and eagerly fostered, because, as we believed, the prestige, the importance and the wealth of this unified Europe would depend upon the care taken to

preserve the original characteristics of its components, their attachment to the soil, their traditions, their art, their mother-tongue and the renewal of their essential healthy virtues.

We thought that in the new State of Europe there would come into existence—without any surrendering of national loyalties—a friendly understanding for the special ways and character of the others' nationhood; we remembered that in days gone by most nationhoods lived without resentment for one another until the politician and party-man appeared amongst them.

We thought that in the new State of Europe a means would be found to protect every working person from exploitation and from coercion of all kinds, and that includes governmental and party coercion; without class warfare, simply because it would be a democracy in deed instead of in word.

We thought that the State of Europe would make impossible the devastation of whole areas within Europe, such devastation as has of late been the result of the policy of robbery and despoliation pursued by state nationalism in the East.

My Lord Archbishop,

I am well aware of all the objections to this hope of a real and genuine unification of Europe.

In the first place, it may be objected that it is no more than a pious wish, a castle in the air. It may be objected that the idea is incapable of realization, for the simple reason that of those who profit by state and business nationalism and party politics not one "limpet" would willingly yield his place.

But what other prospect is there, Your Grace, open to Europe and to all of us who belong unchangeably by blood and being to the continent of Europe? In these decisive years of the turning point of history there is only one alternative—even if England gazing across the sea may think there are other ways—and this sole alternative is the road to Communism, the road to that mass-mindedness which means the extinction of all individuality; it is the forced march of slavery under the eternal whip-lash of political demagogues.

Your Grace, two facetious objections might be put forward against a genuine unification of Europe in which the highest cultivation of various component nationhoods would be encouraged.

It might be exclaimed: "Cultivate the various nationhoods? Does not that smack of a new German nationalism? Does not that phrase sound like the Nazi slogan 'Blood and Soil'?" The phrase 'Blood and Soil' was not, however, coined by the National Socialists. It was the invention of the Christian Socialist Winnig. And it seems to me to be no less meaningful for each and every European, because "Europe" would never have any vitality if it were based on an internationalism without either roots or ties. When internationalism speaks of Europe, all it understands by it, after all, is a still more convenient subject of exploitation.

The second objection is one which might have been made by Mr. Bevin in extension of his remarks in Colombo on 13 January 1950. He might have said: "These Germans now apparently imagine that, should Europe be united into a single state, their 'genius' and their other qualities will enable them at once to play first fiddle in this single state, or at all events shove themselves into the foreground, so vast is their appalling German self-assurance." I should be happy, Your Grace, for my part, if my people in this time of suffering possessed this self-assurance attributed to them. Besides I believe that anything really accomplished in a unified Europe, no matter who does it, will be done collectively for the good of every European.

My Lord Archbishop,

Yes, the great danger is that the conception, the last and great hope of "Europe" may be falsified, misrepresented and misconstrued. For the tentative suggestions, the proposals and veiled threats of a union of Western Europe, do not open the door to a "unification" and betray no sort of readiness to jettison state and business nationalism.

Your Grace, the leading article in the *Weekly Times* of 8 March 1950, which once again discharged itself on the subject of "Germany and the Saar", coolly and unashamedly concluded:



“ . . . On the whole the Western Powers have dealt generously with Germany, and the autonomy of the Saar seems a small price to pay for the chance of friendship and co-operation. Here, surely, is an opportunity for the German people to show the real depth of their faith in Western Union and the contribution which they are ready to make to achieve it.”

My Lord Archbishop,

When we independent Germans, who owe no allegiance to any party and hold no official appointments, and that will always be the majority of us, hear talk of Europe, we envisage a unified Europe in which friendship and co-operation are quite simply taken for granted. We have recognized, or are now coming to recognize, that the era of State nationalism is a thing of the past. If we did not believe this we should have a bill to present which no one would ever be able to settle with blood or property.

We certainly do not think that we owe any sort of contribution to a special unification of Western Europe which tries to represent and to comprise more and very different ideas than those which would mean the first honest step towards a unified Europe.

We repudiate any tie that sunders us from our tormented brothers and sisters in the Eastern Zone, forced upon the German provinces by the partition of Germany, and which might, in the last resort, require us to become adversaries of our brothers and sisters in the East Zone.

We do not want our brothers and sisters in the Eastern Zone to be forced into submission to the East because it has seemed momentarily “ opportune ” to one or another set of politicians to truckle to the West.

My Lord Archbishop,

Strasburg and the Council of Europe were at one time, *apparently*, desirous of a possible creation of Europe, until it was said openly that Germany (read: the Western Zone) must prove herself worthy before she could be accepted into it. And until it became furthermore clear that the old state and business nationalism of the West had not the slightest idea of effacing itself; and until the emergence of the Saar question and its edifying solution proved the acid test.

Your Grace, that fragment of Europe which would be won at the cost of the sacrifice and dissolution of Germany is

not and never will be a Europe. It would be doomed to perish, just as the whole continent would perish as "Europe", if once Bolshevism and mass-mindedness under demagogues came to dominate it by force of arms or even, more probably, without recourse to them.

My Lord Archbishop,

We still hope for Europe with all our heart and soul. We still seek the way to bring about a reorientation to the idea of a European community without it being a sad necessity for people of unswerving honesty of purpose who cling to their native land to perjure their souls. But where can we look for help to prevent the extinction of the last spark of faith in "Europe" unless it be from those few right-minded Englishmen who have learnt to see beyond their noses?

Your Grace,

Almost overnight voices have been raised in America which, as it seems to individuals amongst us, are not in any way representative of America. They are instigated by a still unsated spirit of revenge. One might perhaps call them echoes of Morgenthau or Baruch, because of what the bearers of these two names once thought up as retribution for Germany.

Examples of such voices may be found in the February and March 1950 numbers of that much respected periodical, the "*U.S. News and World Report*". They hide themselves under the anonymity of "Reported from Frankfort". The first article is headed "Crackdown on Germany: Why?"

"A fast comeback by Germany, startling to Europeans and welcomed until now by the U.S., is raising a question whether War II.

"Some influential West Germans have been acting as if they thought so. They are demanding an army of their own, talking back to the U.S., Britain and France, speaking out on international affairs and, generally, acting like the leading power of postwar Europe. U.S. officials, still encouraging business recovery, suddenly have cracked down on German politicians. The Germans are told Germany, after all, is turning out to be the real winner of World to forget about an army, to keep quiet about affairs that don't concern them and to buckle down to the job of making their own country operate peacefully. They are warned that the United States has no intention of supporting the country for ever.

"These facts, plus Germany's pressure for political independence, are promoting some Western Europeans to look upon Germany as the winner, not the loser, of World War II. They also have prompted the U.S. to take another look at Germany and to warn German leaders against trying to make same sort of recovery Germany made after defeat in World War I."

The second article in the number of 3 March is headed: "U.S. sees rise of new Hitler".

"Fears of a new 'strong man', a second Hitler, are stiffening U.S. attitude toward Germany. Brake on German power is likely.

"Secret report shows politicians Nazi style, are gaining in strength. Youth movements, other dictator trappings are back.

"Their rise worries U.S. officials, pushes further into the future the time when U.S. troops will withdraw from Germany."

In order to understand fully the impression produced by these articles they must be carefully read and the illustrations accompanying the falsification they contain should really be seen as well. My Lord Archbishop, what harm is done by such articles, dictated as they are by the spirit of revenge and by nothing else! They destroy the last concept on which those who cannot reconcile themselves with Bolshevism base their hopes. They destroy the one rallying-point where, if I may so express myself, the victory in this supreme crisis of mankind and of history might yet be won for God.

My Lord Archbishop,

Your Appeal to the Germans, made on the radio on 29 November 1945, as it was then reported to us in the licensed Marxist-inclined newspaper printed in Hanover, read as follows:

"... It is difficult to say what ought to be said and to say it in the right manner. All that has happened in the last six years and more in your national history, and its effects on all Europe, cannot be absent from your minds or from mine. What has been done cannot be undone. But its consequences can be controlled. The last act of a play does not alter a single word of the preceding acts; but by its character it may change their significance, showing how the gathering forces of evil are checked and subdued by the final triumph of good. A terrible act in your history has ended. The question for you, and for us, is—what will the next act record. You Germans and we British and many other peoples will write the next act together. What will your contribution be?

You may say that all that is left to you at the present is the power to suffer. I know well the terribly hard conditions that you are suffering; but you are not alone in that. In the evil days

your enemies brought destruction to your neighbours, and they along with you suffer from the harsh process by which their liberation and yours was achieved. Out of the shattered resources of civilisation, every effort is being made to bring to everyone the necessities of life, friend and foe alike. Believe this first of us in this country, that it is our earnest desire that as rapidly as possible the physical sufferings of all shall be relieved. Believe, too, that—as is the declared policy of this country—we desire the time to come when in the comity of nations Germany can again have its place. Our army we called the Army of Liberation. It was our purpose to liberate you, as well as ourselves and our allies, from evil things. I ask again: what will your contribution be? That will depend above all upon the spirit in which you face the present day and those to come, the faith which you find.

Am I wrong in thinking that at this moment you are in a spiritual vacuum; if so, it is no wonder. For many years, willingly or unwillingly, you have pinned your faith to one man, to one doctrine; and they have led you to the abyss. All your loyalty, all your high dreams, all your endurance have come to nothing. What is left? I think specially of your younger people who have known no world except the world of enthusiasm and loyalty and almost religious fervour which Hitler made for them. Now as men or on the threshold of manhood all has gone, and the world seems empty of desire or hope. That, or something like that, must be true of many of you.

“ . . . Civilisation is still everywhere insecure; and fear, fear of want, fear of one another, fear of atomic energy, besets and bedevils human life still. But just because you are for the time powerless as a nation, because you have to make a fresh start, you can, you must choose your ground of faith.”

Your Grace,

It seems to me that we have gone through at least a part of the last act, and that its progress has thrown a different light upon the earlier scenes for all who wish to see. During the five years which have elapsed since your well-intentioned appeal, the spiritual vacuum in which so many of us have been living was filled by the happenings that this book endeavours to set out for your consideration.

There have been moments as I have drawn the picture when the blood has surged into my head almost, as we say in German, to bursting point. But I have certainly never intended to address you on any page or in any turn of phrase otherwise than in a spirit of reverence for what has been and is for me venerable in the English character at its best and is being



equally combated and hated by the same powers of destruction.

My Lord Archbishop,

The page which was to begin the new chapter of history was not turned. History has been led too far astray by politicians and those who had the might to alter it—any contributive power was taken from us—were not steadfast in their opposition and failed to play their part.

God, My Lord Archbishop, has given us our place in the comity of nations. A human admission, I think we must not apply for, and where indeed does a comity of nations exist at present in the human sense? The last faith for an earthly salvation lies in the success of a unified Europe, saved from Bolshevism and freed from state nationalism.

But this needful ground of faith, My Lord Archbishop, is being undermined with growing determination by the Powers of Destruction. This being so, I venture to put to you the respectful counter-question: "Where remains the European voice of your country, a voice which, as a ground of faith, would indeed be the only one still to find a common hearing amongst the nations all over the world?"

## POSTSCRIPT

I have been told that this book bears a clumsy title. Even if it is an appeal and an answer to the highest visible representative of the English conscience, its deepest purpose, they tell me, should be unquestionably to help the silent, questing youth of Germany out of the slough of political confusion and political despondency, and to inspire them with a new courage for their race and a new European responsibility. This new hope and this new duty ought therefore to be expressed in the title without offence to any lingering reverence for the past and its gigantic sacrifices.

The title, so I have been told, should be something like  
DECISION FOR EUROPE.

And after the Goethe centenary, in which the great name of Goethe with his unsuperstitious character has been linked with so much that is vain and dead, such a title should have been coupled with those true and apt lines from the section of the poem *Hermann und Dorothea*, entitled "Prospect", which run :

"Alles regt sich, als wollte die Welt, die gestaltete, rückwärts  
Lösen in Chaos und Nacht sich auf und neu sich gestalten. . .  
. . . und finden dereinst wir uns wieder  
Über den Trümmern der Welt, so sind wir erneute Geschöpfe,  
Umgebildet und frei und unabhängig vom Schicksal.  
Denn was fesselt den, der solche Tage durchlebt hat!"

(Everything is in flux, as if the world and creation were seeking  
to dissolve back into chaos and night, and create itself anew . . .  
and if we some day find ourselves again above the ruins of the  
world, we shall  
be regenerated creatures, reformed and free and independent  
of Fate,  
For what fetters him who has survived such days!)

## *Appendix I.*

### *Protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia :*

The English translator has called for an annotation on this point. He declares that the establishment of the Protectorate was in the opinion of English readers a breach of the agreement concluded at Munich on 29 September 1938. He goes on to suggest that the only justification for the German people might be that they did not know of the Munich agreement; which would imply that the Germans were kept in ignorance of it. The Germans were certainly not in ignorance of the much discussed Munich agreement; but under the circumstances developing in the early months of 1939 the agreement had lost any validity whatsoever as to Czechoslovakia. On 15 March 1939 the British Prime Minister said in the House of Commons in the course of a speech on the situation :

“I need not recall all the circumstances which led up to the final settlement arrived at on 29 September at Munich. . . The settlement has not proved final. The state under which the settlement was hoped might begin a new and more stable career has become disintegrated. The attempt to preserve a State containing Czechs, Slovaks, as well as minorities of other nationalities was liable to the same possibilities of change as was the Constitution which was drafted when the State was originally framed under the Treaty of Versailles. And it has not survived. That may or may not have been inevitable, and I have so often heard charges of breach of faith bandied about which did not seem to me to be founded upon sufficient premises that I do not wish to associate myself to-day with any charges of that character. . .”

The Germans who knew what was going on behind the scenes gave the following explanation :

“The only basis upon which the incoherent state of Czechoslovakia could have survived was by pursuing a foreign policy of strict neutrality and of complete recognition of the rights of minorities. She pursued neither policy. She allowed herself to become an instrument of power politics through which she has now perished.”

Dr. Benes as Foreign Minister was responsible for the foreign policy of his country. That foreign policy included the military alliance with France and Soviet Russia which was directed solely against Germany. With these alliances, and especially with the development of the bombing aeroplane, Czechoslovakia represented a threat to Germany which, whatever kind of government Germany had, would have resulted in bitter enmity between the two countries.

And what would the English reader say if the Republic of Ireland, for example, (I apologize to Irishmen) made secret agreements with two Soviet Nations inimical to England? If this became known to the British Government would the English reader want Great Britain to shut her eyes or take immediate action?

## *Appendix II.*

Landsberg, town in Bavaria. Its prison building became the U.S. War Criminal Prison No. 1. The notable prisoners of Landsberg are the so-called war criminals of whom up to 1950 248 were hanged in the prison. All thinking Germans consider the "Landsberg Case" as an aberration which is bound to have very grave consequences. The majority of Germans, and amongst them those who never were anti-Semitic, call American Jewry the wire-puller of all that the name of Landsberg involves. Generally speaking, the Germans stress the argument that the persons who originally dared to appoint themselves judges over the members of a vanquished nation, while in the case of their own nationals and allies the numberless terrible acts of war against humanity had to pass unnoticed, turned themselves deliberately and callously against truth and that is, God Himself. As to Landsberg, the majority of Germans and with them a great many dignitaries of the two Churches, point out that several of the men hanged have since been proven innocent of the charges brought up against them and that an unquestionable guilt has not been established in any case.

## *Appendix III.*

### *Schuschnigg.*

The English translator puts the question whether the "average German" was unaware of the existence of an agreement of the Hitler government of the "Reich" with the Austrian Schuschnigg of 11 July 1936 which through the "invasion" of Austria was broken? If an annotation is to be given in this connection the author would reply that the "average German" was as much at home in Austria as in Bavaria, Württemberg, Prussia and Saxony and in the other German lands. The "average German" certainly knew that there were as long as history went dissentient elements in the various German tribes who preferred separatism to union. The internal history of the "Reich" ever since Charlemagne has been filled with endless feuds on this question. The third and last paragraph of the agreement on 11 July

The English translator puts the question whether the "average German" was unaware of the existence of an agreement entered into by the Hitler Government of the Reich with the Austrian Schuschnigg on 11 July 1936 which was broken through the "invasion" of Austria? If an annotation is to be given in this connection the author would reply that the "average German" certainly knew that there have always been dissentient elements in the various German peoples who preferred separation to union. The internal history of the Reich ever since Charlemagne has been filled with endless feuds on this question but the third and last paragraph of the agreement of July 11 had the following wording: "The Austrian Government will never forget in its political acts—in general and more especially when having to do with the German Empire—that Austria has declared herself to be a German State." The great majority of the "average Germans" of all German lands including Austria held the conviction



that the Schuschnigg government of the years in question did not honour this clause.

#### *Appendix IV.*

##### *China Trial.*

About the China Trial or the Ehrhardt Case very little was known in German lands. All that people heard was that a number of men had on American authority been sent from Shanghai (China) to the U.S. War Criminal Prison No. 1 of Landsberg (Baravia) to undergo there heavy terms of imprisonment, one for life, two for thirty years, four for twenty years, one for fifteen years, six for ten years, one for eight years and six for five years. The instigator of the business was an American Colonel Edward H. Young. His argument was that the condemned men who were members of the German Embassy and various German Consulates in China had been of assistance to the Japanese between 8 May 1945 and 17 September 1945, that is to say after the day the German forces had laid down arms unconditionally. The condemned men all denied this charge. Their defending counsels, one French jurist, three Chinese jurists, one German emigrant jurist were prevented from working on the case and getting a hearing. The accused were found guilty, but, being war criminals, they were never told on which counts.

In 1950 the American attorney A. Frank Reel took up the case in the States, and in autumn 1950 the doors of Landsberg were at last opened to all the China prisoners and they were discharged.















# Sven Hedin's German Diary

Translated by  
JOAN BULMAN, M.A.

Conversations of Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, Himmler and other leaders of the Third Reich with the famous Swedish explorer who was knighted by British Government in India for his services to Science.

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